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THE  
FAMILY AND HEIRS OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE  
VOL. I.









F. Drake

Emory Walker Sk. x



THE  
FAMILY AND HEIRS  
OF  
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

BY  
LADY ELIOTT-DRAKE

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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It is a degradation to man to be reduced to the life of the present. He will never put forth his hopes, his views, and efforts towards the future with due effect and energy, unless at the same time he holds close to his heart the recollections of the past.

W. E. GLADSTONE

*(Speech at Edinburgh, November 1882.)*

*Beh*





## PREFACE

A FEW years ago, a little book, entitled 'The Family of Sir Francis Drake,' was put together and privately printed by the Rev. Thomas Hervey. It consisted of a genealogy, the Memoranda of a Lady Drake, written in the reign of William and Mary, the reprint of a funeral sermon, and a few miscellaneous papers, some of which were new to me.

Of these the Memoranda interested me the most, because they afforded a clue to the meaning of a bundle of eighteenth-century letters which had been preserved for the justification of one of the writers, yet without any accompanying explanation of the circumstances which had led to the correspondence.

As the story thus newly revealed seemed, from a family point of view, to be worth clearing up, I made some notes about it, to bind in with my copy of Mr. Hervey's book, intending to add thereto a few particulars respecting each successive Lady Drake—her lineage, the amount of her fortune, and any personal details discoverable. It soon appeared, however, that the addenda would be out of proportion to the volume to be illustrated, wherefore, at the suggestion of those most interested in the matter, I abandoned that plan, and began a more comprehensive history of the Drakes of Buckland.

Of the great Sir Francis Drake I have said little, abler pens than mine having paid the tribute that was due to him ; but I have tried to put on record something of the lives

and characters of those who carried on his name, men who were useful in their generation, not afraid of responsibility in dangerous times, and willing—always—to spend and be spent in the service of their country.

In this narrative there is of necessity frequent allusion to politics and to public events, but, as I have no pretension to write history, I have been careful to quote from original sources or from the works of well-known authorities.

With all its shortcomings, I present the book confidently to those for whom it was primarily intended, knowing that they are well aware of the difficulties under which it has been written. Other readers may reasonably be more critical, and from these I ask their kindest judgment, seeing that I acknowledge my limitations and claim no merit for my work but that it is truthful. If there are mistakes, they certainly are not wilful ones.

I wish to offer the grateful thanks I owe to those who have been so good as to help me ; to Sir Mortimer Durand, who, when Ambassador at Madrid, enabled me, through the British Embassy, to obtain the official copy of an important Spanish document which I could not otherwise have had ; to Count de Salis, for procuring further documents for me and for inquiries made on my behalf in South America and elsewhere, as well as for his great kindness in making the excellent translations printed in the Appendix ; to Mr. Julian Corbett, for assistance and helpful advice ; to the Rev. Thomas Hervey, for permission to make use of the contents of his book ; and to Mr. Pleydell Bouverie, for allowing me to look through and make extracts from his very interesting MSS. at Brymore.

E. F. E. D.

BUCKLAND ABBEY,  
1911.



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**PART I**  
**SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, KT.**  
**1541-1596**





## PART I

### CHAPTER I

THE family of Drake has been estated in Devonshire from a very early period.

The first mention of the name that we can discover is in the reign of Henry III, when Reginald le Drake owned land in Tiverton, and a Ralf and a Roger le Drake held half a knight's fee in Dartington.<sup>1</sup>

The Tavistock branch—ancestors of the Drakes of Buckland—are first heard of in the reign of Edward III, at which time Ralf, John, and Richard Drake all held lands in the immediate neighbourhood, and Richard Drake's assessment was the highest in the Tavistock Hundred. Thenceforth the name constantly appears on the Subsidy and other Rolls.

Two John Drakes in succession were vicars of St. Stephen's on the Tamar; the second of these resigned the living in 1393. Another member of the family was a monk in the Monastery of Tavistock. A John Drake was churchwarden of Tavistock and portreeve of the borough in 1466, and by the early subsidy of Henry VIII we learn that, in 1523, Drake, Hawkins, and

<sup>1</sup> 'There is a great diversity of opinion concerning the content of a knight's fee, that is how much land goeth to the livelihood of a knight, for some say that a knight's fee should be eight hundred acres, but I hold that a knight's fee is properly to be estimated according to the quality and not according to the quantity of the land. . . . And antiquity thought that he which had land to the value of twenty pound per annum, had a sufficient livelihood for the maintenance of a knight.'—COKE.

Amadas were three of the only eight names returned as rateable under the highest assessment.

Simon Drake is the first of our branch of whose existence there is documentary evidence at Nutwell Court.<sup>1</sup> He had a lease from the Abbot of St. Rumon's Monastery of all that part of Crowndale which lies within the parish of Tavistock. His will, proved in 1534, is mentioned in the calendars of the Totnes Probate Court, but the document itself cannot now be found. It would appear that he had no children, and that he made John and Margery Drake his heirs, for in 1519 the Abbot of the Monastery at Tavistock granted to them and their son John a lease for their respective lives of all the lands and buildings in Crowndale then held by Simon Drake, at the end of whose tenure the new lease was to begin to take effect. This term was again renewed in 1546, notwithstanding that the three lives were all still in existence, the reason being that at the dissolution of the monasteries the fee-simple of the lands belonging to St. Rumon's<sup>2</sup> had passed into the possession of other owners.

These domains were now held by Lord Russell and Anne his wife, to whom they had been granted by Henry VIII; but the King was dying, his heir was a sickly boy, and the Russells, no doubt prudently, looked forward to the possibility that England might before long be ruled by a Roman Catholic sovereign, when an endeavour would be made to restore to the Church the lands so recently torn from her. They therefore took every precaution which could tend to give them a tighter hold on their newly acquired possessions.

The prospect of a re-establishment of the Monastic Orders in this country, and the consequent passing again into mortmain of the enormous portion of England lately released

<sup>1</sup> Simon Drake was rated in £24, on goods. His name appears on a Subsidy Roll from which the date is gone. Probably it belongs to the year 1523.

<sup>2</sup> The Abbot of St. Rumon's was adequately pensioned. He died at Tavistock in the year 1550.



with so much difficulty, was a danger not ignored by the King's Government. In order to prevent such an evil, the ecclesiastical estates were in most cases quickly parcelled out, and those who obtained them were required to show by their actions that they were *bonâ fide* owners, holding for themselves, and not with a view to any fresh incoming of monks.<sup>1</sup>

The Tavistock Benedictines had been liberal to the poor and were popular in the district; but, as the Drake family and their connexions were amongst the early Reformers, it is probable that John and Margery Drake showed no unwillingness to recognise the changed order of things. For several years, however, they continued to hold only under their original lease, which, as far as they were concerned, had lost none of its validity,<sup>2</sup> but in 1546—presumably for the security of their new landlords—they accepted from them a fresh lease drawn in terms practically identical with the unexpired one. They may have been the more inclined to be accommodating in the matter because it made no difference whatever in their position as tenants, and because the Russells had given evidence of kindly feeling towards their family.

The new Indenture was dated October 1546. Its conditions may be translated from the Latin as follows:

That Lord Russell and the Lady Anne his wife, for the fine of £6. 13. 4, demise to John Drake senior, Margery his wife and John their son, all the lessor's messuages, lands and

<sup>1</sup> 'Almost all the smaller monasteries and other religious houses were granted out on very easy terms with the demesnes or lands in hand, to the gentry in the several counties as residences on the condition of keeping up hospitality there. They were to maintain "an honest continual house and household in the same" and to continue the tillage of the demesnes.'—Dowell's *Hist. of Taxation in England*, vol. i, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> It is often forgotten that the monks had in almost all cases taken advantage of the opportunities given them before the dissolution, to let their lands for long terms of years with a heavy fine at the beginning and very small annual payments thereafter. No attempt was made to upset the validity of these leases, consequently most of the agricultural lands granted to private owners did not really fall into their possession until some time in the reign of Queen Elizabeth or the commencement of the reign of James I.

tenements in Crowndale, within the parish of Tavistock in the County of Devon, which the same John Drake now holds there, to hold to the same John Drake for the term of his natural life, then to Margery for the term of her life if she remained sole, and then to John Drake the son for the term of his life, at the yearly rent of £4. 6. 8, and their best beast for a heriot ; and the lessees shall do suit at the lessor's court at Hurdewycke at the two law days then holden there yearly, and go to the lessor's mill there with all their multures, and they shall repair the houses, hedges and ditches of the premises.

(Signed) J. Russell. Anne Russell.

Witnesses :

Thomas Hacche.

John Weste Esq.

Roger Molford.

John Drake and his wife Margery had four sons, John, Edmund, Robert, and a younger son, also named John, who survived the others. Beyond this, little is known of them. Their wills were proved in the registry of Totnes in the years 1566 and 1571 respectively, but neither originals nor copies of the wills are now to be found.

Crowndale is a district which lies within the parishes of Whitchurch and Tavistock ; it is divided by the river Tavy into nearly equal portions ; the Tavistock side—the whole of which was in one tenure—was the more important of the two parts ; it consisted of about a hundred and eighty acres of land, and was, and is, called shortly Crowndale. The Whitchurch side of the district was in those times subdivided into portions known as East and West Crowndale. The latter estate was then rented by another John Drake, son of an Edmund Drake, mentioned in some Chancery proceedings which may still be seen. He had a son, married to a wife named Julian, and a grandson—both named after himself. Their descendants continued for several generations to reside on the same farm, and it is owing to the indefatigable labour of love of their present representative, Dr. H. H. Drake,

that much has been discovered respecting the early history of the Drake family.

It is not unlikely that John Drake, of West Crowndale in Whitchurch, was cousin to John and Margery Drake, but no connexion between them can be demonstrated.

It is well to be quite clear on this point, because, in a pedigree published by Colonel Vivian in his 'Herald's Visitations of the County of Devon,' lines of connexion are shown between the Tavistock and Whitchurch Drakes, and the two families are confused together in a way which is not only unsupported by any proof, but which is absolutely contradicted by all the evidence obtainable. That these Drakes were akin is indeed not improbable, but the connexion, if any, must have been some generations further back than Colonel Vivian supposes.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the Drakes of Crowndale and of West Crowndale, there were persons of the name resident in and around Tavistock, who, it is reasonable to suppose, were more or less nearly connected with one or both families, but, as the early parish registers have been lost, it is impossible now to discover in what degree these people were co-related. Little is known about them beyond the amounts at which they were rated in the Lay Subsidy Rolls, and the dates of probate of their wills.

William Drake (probate 1531) may have been the William Drake who was associated with Richard Banham, Abbot of Tavistock, as executor of the will of Walter Fitz of South Tavistock, gentleman, in the year 1483.

Thomas Drake (probate 1534) was probably father of the

<sup>1</sup> It may not be out of place here to express a wish that, for the printing of published pedigrees, some system might be generally adopted which would distinguish clearly between relationships irrefutably established by deeds and documents, and those which are merely conjectural. All lovers of family history would be gainers, and antiquaries who delight in genealogical research would know where they might direct their labours with a chance of making interesting discoveries.



Thomas Drake who, with his wife Margery, paid a fine on 'Hawcombe,' in the parish of Beerferrers, to Richard Sawell, in 1552.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Drake, rated/at £18 in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1545, was, there is reason to think, identical with a captain of that name who served in Edward VI's navy. He made a will which is extant but does not give much information. He alludes to his mother as Elizabeth Huxtable, she having married secondly the Vicar of Whitchurch; and he bequeathed small sums to his sons and daughters. He appears to have been trustee of all the parish charities, and his name is appended, as a witness, to Sir Richard Grenville's conveyance of Buckland Abbey.

Richard, son of the above, invested in tin mines, became a wealthy man, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Langdon of Keverall, whose wife Elizabeth was a daughter of Sir William Godolphin. His influence as a mine owner may have been valuable to Sir Francis Drake when the Plymouth leat was made, for without the consent of the tanners the work could not have been accomplished.

One more John Drake has to be added to the already confounding number of men so named. He is known as John Drake of Peter Tavy, and it is likely enough that he was Richard Drake's younger brother and heir. He married in 1593 an heiress, Abigail Farrington of Chudleigh. He and his wife were in the household of Richard Tremayne,<sup>2</sup> whose brother Edmund Tremayne, Clerk of the Privy Council to Queen Elizabeth, is known to have warmly befriended Sir Francis Drake.

Finally, there was the Reverend William Drake, Rector of Sydenham (a living in the gift of the Tremaynes) and Vicar of

<sup>1</sup> Hawcombe is now the property of Sir F. G. A. F. Elliott-Drake.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Tremayne resided at St. Tue in Cornwall. Carew says that 'he was learned in the laws, by which he made other people to profit, thereby hoarding up treasures of gratitude in the mindful breasts of poor and rich on whom he bestowed gratis the fruits of his pains and knowledge.'

Whitchurch, to which preferment he had been presented in 1532 by the monks of Tavistock, patrons of the living.

His will was proved in 1543. The original is lost, but there exists a much damaged copy in the books of the Consistory Court at Exeter, from which the following extract is taken. The document is particularly interesting, as testifying to the early friendship which existed between the Tremayne and Drake families, and further because it mentions the relationship to the Maynards, who were always counted as kinsmen by the Drakes of Buckland.

I, William Drake, Vicar of Whitchurch, &c. . . . my sole to Almighty God, and my body to be buried in the Chauncell, even before the dexte that standeth before the hye aulter of the beforenamed Chauncell . . . (here follow bequests of a cow and calf each to various persons whose names are torn off). To my gode Mayster, Thomas Tremayne, I give and bequeath my best gelding, my mare, my best salt, a dozen of my best sponys, my silver coupe, the new half garnish of pewter vesell performed,<sup>1</sup> . . . To John Maynard, my cousin, I bequeath my silver salt. To my servant, Stephen Burley, I bequeath iij kee (cows). And all the rest of my goods not bequeathed I will that Mayster Thomas Tremayne shall have it, whom I make my Exor, he to dystribute the same as he shall think most meyte and convenyant for the welthe of my sole.

We have enumerated above all the branches of the Drake family who, at the time of the birth of Francis Drake, owned or rented property in the neighbourhood of Tavistock and Whitchurch, and we have now to show to which of these branches his father, Edmund, the Puritan clergyman, belonged.

There is no doubt whatever that he was a younger son of John and Margery Drake of Crowndale. The information Sir Francis himself gave to Camden, local and family tradition,

<sup>1</sup> A service of table utensils, generally consisting of twelve pieces. A garnish of pewter is amongst the list of things which Richard Hackluyt recommended travellers to take with them, to make 'a show of our commodities.' 'Performed' means embossed or ornamented.

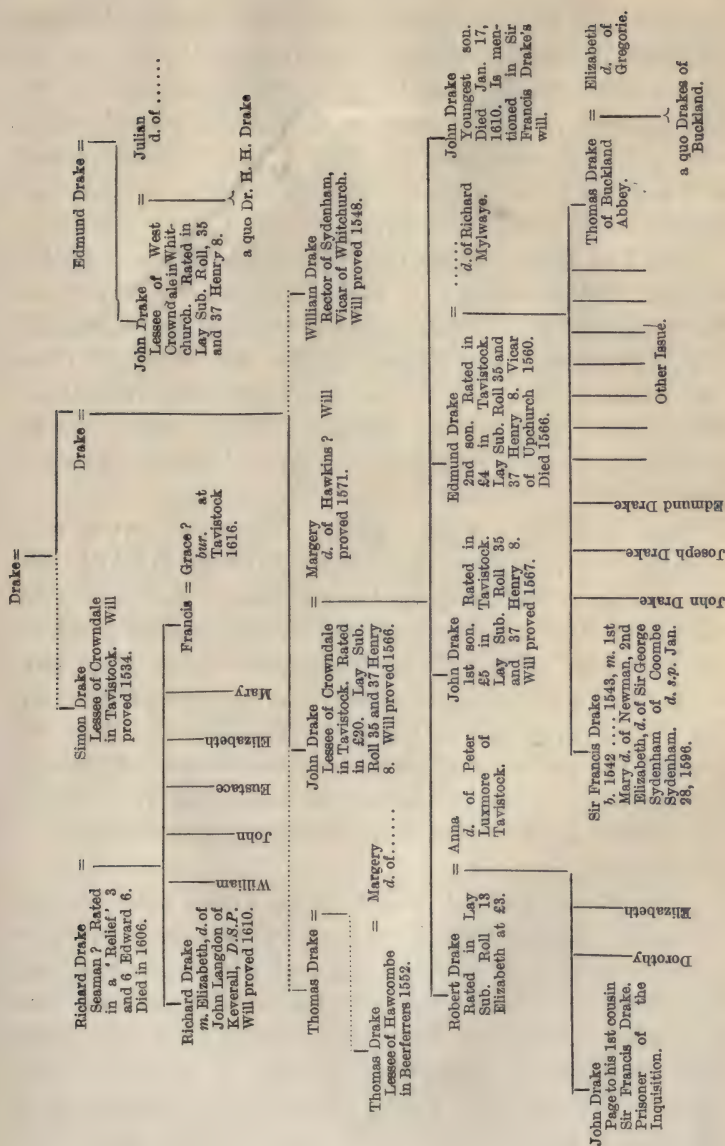
and the deposition of Robert Drake's son, when he was examined in 1587 before the Inquisitors of the Holy Office at Lima,<sup>1</sup> amply prove this. John Drake's accuracy is established by entries in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for the parish of Tavistock, 25th and 27th Henry VIII. Therein we find that 'John Drake of Crowndell' was rated in £20, 'John Drake Junior,' the eldest son, was rated in £5, and Edmund Drake, immediately after him on the same Roll, in £4. Further corroboration is afforded by a very old plan of Crowndale farm and the reference thereto, in the possession of the Duke of Bedford. The reference says, 'The great and celebrated Sir Francis Drake was born in the building marked x on the plan.' Unfortunately, a great many erasures have been made upon it, and the point marked x cannot now be found. This reference, however, clearly establishes the fact that nearly two hundred years ago this farm was regarded as having been the birthplace of Sir Francis Drake; and the preservation of the old leases among the most ancient and precious of the family documents is strong confirmatory evidence.

A sketch of part of a house, long since demolished, said to be the one in which Sir Francis Drake was born, was made about the year 1825 by the late Mr. Bray, Vicar of Tavistock. This sketch was reproduced in Lewis's 'Views of the Tamar and the Tavy,' but very incorrectly, Mrs. Bray says. The building, as there represented, has no appearance of Tudor antiquity about it, but seems to be of later date, though probably occupying the original site.

The following scheme will show at a glance the way in which some of the above-mentioned Drakes may have been related. The black lines represent connexions fully established by wills and other documents. The dotted lines indicate conjecture, no proof being at present obtainable respecting them.

<sup>1</sup> Now for the first time published in its entirety. See Appendix.





It would be interesting, and it is certainly desirable, to ascertain something about the position in life and the degree of comfort enjoyed by these Tavistock Drakes. The first question is answered by the alliances they made, which were with the lesser gentry. The second is more puzzling, as it requires a knowledge of values and of local and economic questions not easily obtained.

The Lay Subsidy Rolls, to which we have already alluded, help us a little, but only by way of comparison. We find in them that the average rate of the district, on goods, was £3; John and Margery Drake paid on £20, and we suppose that this represented comfort, because, even fifty years later, when riches had greatly increased, there were only six persons in London who paid 'on goods' to the extent of £200.

Rent is perhaps a surer guide, and we are fortunate in knowing the approximate acreage of Crowndale, and the terms of John and Margery Drake's lease. Yet here again there is an element of uncertainty, because they had to keep the buildings in repair, an obligation which may have necessitated a considerable outlay. In the fifteenth century, and in the early part of the sixteenth when the lease was granted, the rent of good arable land—such as would now let for thirty-six to forty shillings an acre—was from 9*d.* to one shilling an acre, that is, one-fortieth of its value at the present day.

The difference in the price of living was in other respects not nearly so great. Wheat in 1548 was 4*s.* a quarter, only a ninth of what it is now. Sheep and oxen cost about one-twelfth of their present price, the cost of a pig was 8*d.*, that of a chicken 1½*d.*, and on an old inventory we find eleven little pigs valued collectively at 4*d.* A spade labourer received from 4*d.* to 6*d.* a day. These figures, without going into lists of prices which would only bewilder the reader,

enable one to understand that a yeoman and his wife who, like John and Margery Drake, paid four pounds annual rent, were in quite comfortable circumstances.<sup>1</sup> They could show hospitality, portico their daughters suitably, and send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge, if they so desired.<sup>2</sup>

John and Margery Drake had daughters, one of whom was named Anne. The eldest son John, and Robert, the third son, followed their father's calling. John married, but died without issue in the year 1567. Robert married Anna, daughter of Peter Luxmore of Tavistock. They had a son whose history will appear in these pages. The last of John and Margery Drake's children, also named John, must have been many years younger than his brothers. We shall hear of him again like-wise.

Edmund, John and Margery's second son, is traditionally said to have begun life as a sailor, and to have been early converted to the Protestant faith. The date of his marriage is believed to have been about the year 1541. It has been supposed that his wife was sister or cousin to William Hawkins; but recent discoveries indicate that her name was Milwaye, and it is just as likely that the relationship, which is known to have existed between the Drake and Hawkins families, may have been through Edmund Drake's mother as through his wife.

The Edmund Drakes had twelve children; Francis, their

<sup>1</sup> Writing even a hundred years later Westcote says of the Devonshire yeomen: 'Many of these are gentlemen (descending from younger brothers) or gentlemen's equal by estate and are saluted with suitable terms of "Master," and indeed live here more frankly according to that name, and liberally for the most part than elsewhere, some having land in fee simple of their own, others having leases from landlords for terms of years by copy of Court Roll, not at a rack rent or highest improvement as in other counties, but pay a fine at their income or taking, and do hold tenements worth some £100, £80 or £50 or £40, per annum for the rent of £10, £8, £4 or perchance less; their fines once paid they live freely, contentedly and richly.' The amount of fine on entry was influenced by circumstances, and if much building or repair had to be done it would be materially lessened.

<sup>2</sup> See Latimer's *Sermon on Rent*.



eldest son, was born in the year 1542 or 1543, in the house of his grandparents at Crowndale in the parish of Tavistock. At his baptism, Francis Russell,<sup>1</sup> afterwards first Earl of Bedford, son of Lord Russell, Keeper of the Privy Seal, stood sponsor for the child and named him after himself.

To some modern critics it has seemed a strange thing that the son of a peer—himself a mere boy at the time—should have been sponsor for a child of yeoman rank ; but, as the infant was the grandson of John and Margery Drake and born in their house, there was really nothing wonderful about it.

In England, as elsewhere, it has always been the custom—and more so in past years than it is now—for one in a superior position, from the sovereign downwards, to show his kindly feeling to those in his entourage, by offering to be god-parent to a newly born child ; such a compliment would be the more likely to be paid when, as in a case like this, the greater and the lesser families entertained religious opinions which were not shared by the majority of their neighbours. Add to this that the Drakes had been settled for generations in the district, that they were tenants of good standing, renting under the Russells, that they were on friendly terms with the Tremayne family, who were intimate with their landlord, and the circumstance appears to be quite easily explained.

Francis Russell, when his father was abroad, was left under the guardianship of Edmund Tremayne, and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that young Russell was acquainted with Edmund Tremayne's rector, the Reverend William Drake, who may perhaps have prepared him for confirmation. In those days this rite took place when the candidate was from twelve to fourteen years old, and it was no uncommon thing then—nor is it now among Roman Catholics—to compliment a newly confirmed person by inviting him in his turn to undertake the duties of sponsorship.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Russell was born in 1527 or 1528.

There were other reasons as well, no doubt, to account for the interest which it is said the Russells continued to take in the welfare of Edmund Drake; he was a Protestant, so was Francis Russell<sup>1</sup>; both suffered for their opinions, but the turn of Edmund Drake came first, precipitated maybe by his own want of judgment or caution. He was, we are sure, deeply in earnest, a 'hot gospeller' whose zeal for preaching was prompted by political as well as by religious motives. We can well believe that he may have made himself extremely unpopular in a district where the charity of the monks was gratefully remembered by many who, with the dissolution of the monastery, had lost their occupation or livelihood. Such men, and those disinterestedly clinging to their old convictions, would throw all their weight into the scale which, in 1548, was turning against the Protestant party; and when the outburst came, and the Devonshire and Cornish peasants rose *en masse* on Whit Sunday, 1549, to oppose the reading of the new (English) service book and to demand the renewal of the Six Articles Act,<sup>2</sup> Edmund Drake had to fly for his life.

The insurrection became a serious one. Lord Russell was sent to the West to quell it, but two months elapsed and four thousand countrymen were killed before the remainder submitted to the religious changes which they hated.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Russell was imprisoned by Queen Mary for his religion in 1553. After his release he joined the Protestant exiles at Geneva. He died in England in 1585.

<sup>2</sup> The Six Articles Act had been passed about ten years previously by Henry VIII; the articles affirmed were:

1. The real Presence.
2. That communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation.
3. That it was not permissible for priests to marry.
4. That monastic vows were of perpetual obligation.
5. That private masses ought to be continued, and
6. That auricular confession ought to be maintained.

The Insurgents also required, amongst other things, that half the property of the monks should be restored to them.

Edmund Drake was never able to return to his home in Devonshire. Tradition says that he and his wife took refuge in the first instance on the Island of St. Nicholas (now known as Drake's Island), 'which yielded a safe protection to divers dutiful subjects who there shrouded themselves,' until the Government re-established order by sending ships to the relief of the mayor and other Protestants who were shut up in the Castle of Plymouth, valiantly defending it from the rebels.<sup>1</sup>

It happened very fortunately that just then a small squadron was ready for the sea and about to start under the command of Thomas Cotton, with instructions to clear the south coast of pirates. These ships, six in number, were now promptly dispatched to Plymouth to support the authority of the mayor and relieve the Protestants on the Island of St. Nicholas.

One of them, 'The Englishe Galley,' was commanded by Captain Richard Drake, who must have been an officer of considerable local experience, for Cotton's instructions from the Council especially enjoined him to take the advice of Richard Drake whenever practicable.<sup>2</sup> It seems therefore not unlikely that this Richard was, as we have supposed, a Tavistock man, and that it was with his assistance, or else upon a trading vessel belonging to William Hawkins, that Edmund Drake escaped and made his way to Kent, where his wife had relations and he had friends.

One of these undoubtedly was John Fitz, who owned a mansion called Rushy Green Place, near Lewisham, as well as his Devonshire estate of Fitzford in the neighbourhood of Tavistock and adjoining Crowndale. He was a son of the Walter Fitz who, in 1483, had appointed William Drake to

<sup>1</sup> There is a note in the books of the Corporation of Plymouth with respect to this time, which says, 'Then was our stepell burnt with all the townes evydences in the same by the rebelles.'

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers Domestic, Edward VI*, vol. vii.



be his executor; his wife's sister was married to Thomas Tremayne, residuary legatee of the Reverend William Drake. It is thus evident that the friendship between the Fitz and Drake families was no new one, and as years went on it became more closely cemented.

Unless John Fitz and his wife took a different line from their kinsfolk, they must have been in full sympathy with the religious and political opinions for which Edmund Drake suffered. Their cousins, Sir Henry and Thomas Isley, were among those who were executed four years later for taking part in Sir Thomas Wyatt's conspiracy to marry the Princess Elizabeth to Edward Courtenay and place her on the throne instead of her sister Mary. Mrs. Fitz's nephew, Edmund Tremayne, who was in the plot, was seized and tortured on the rack, in the expectation that some evidence might be wrung from him which would incriminate the Princess Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup>

Another person through whose good offices Edmund Drake may have received some assistance in his search for employment was Dorothy, Lady Mountjoy, who lived and died in the parish of Beerferrers.<sup>2</sup> Her father held the manor of Lee near Blackheath, and her nephew, Lord Thomas Grey, was executed, along with a Robert Drake, for participation in the above-named plot. There is evidence that a peculiar friendship existed at a later time between Sir Francis Drake and Lord and Lady Mountjoy. Is it not possible that it originated in Sir Francis's gratitude to the older lady for helpful kindness to his father and mother when they took refuge in Kent?

In his own county Edmund Drake's life was in danger, but once safely out of Devonshire there was no reason why he

<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth never forgot this, and when she came to the throne Edmund Tremayne was rewarded by being made Clerk to the Privy Council.

<sup>2</sup> About four miles from Tavistock.

should continue in hiding. At that time, although he may have been in the habit of addressing country audiences, he was certainly not even in deacon's orders. Nevertheless, the influence of his friends procured for him what might now be called a naval chaplaincy, and we suppose that before long he was ordained. 'He inhabited the hull of a ship' on the Medway, close to the new dockyard at Chatham, and was 'Reader of Prayers to the Royal Navy.' By this means he maintained himself until the death of Edward VI, and it was whilst he and his wife lived on board the ship—not at all an uncomfortable residence—that 'many of their younger sons were borne.' Neither Stowe nor Camden gives any account of Edmund Drake's doings during the reign of Queen Mary. The ruin he had brought upon himself and others by the over-vehement expression of his opinions had no doubt taught him moderation, and thenceforth he could be content to avoid dangerous controversy.

At length, in 1560, when Queen Elizabeth had come to the throne, Edmund Drake was appointed to an All Souls living, the Vicarage of Upchurch in Kent, which he held until his death in 1566.

His will, made the day before he died, is as follows :

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. The XXVjth day of December in Ann Dni millimo quinquiesimo sexto. Be yt known to all men Edmond Drake Vycare of Upchurch yn Kent make my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge. Fyrste I doe beleve assuredlye that I am redeamed by the blood of Christ as of a lamb undefyled and without spott, therefore I comytte my sowle into the hands of my mercyfull Lord God, and my bodye to be buryed in Upchurch by my son Edward Drake, by the graves of Blechendens householde. Itm I give unto my sonne Thomas Drake the younger now abydyng with Mr Baker of London, my best fether bedd with a pillowe of downe and a nother of fethers. I give unto the same Thomas my sonne two chests with all my bookes wch my Sonne I wolde he shoulde make of them

above all other goodes. But remember my wyesh to be new sett in the beginnings of the Romanes and so tryme the boke and kepe in bosome and fede upon, make much of the byble that I doe here send the wyth all the rest of the godly bookes. Itm I give unto my Sonne Thomas one new bason, fyve fayre platters wyth one old platter belonginge unto the same iij newe pewter dishes wyth a frenshe pott of pewter. More I give unto my Sonne fower of my beste candlestycks wch my Nurse knoweth the beste. Item I bequeathe him iiij of my beste kettles wyth one postnett and mortar wyth a pestell. Itm the best ev'y thyng I gyve unto my Sonne, as I put my truste [in] my Nurse to see all this delyvred for my Sonne Thomas. The reste of my goodes unbequeathed I gyve holye unto my true nurse who hath kepte me well, noman I beseeche to take any thinge from her for I give all that I have left in my howse as well named as unnamed. Thomas my Sonne I make my hole and sole Executor unto this my laste Wyll and Master Thomas Baker of London I make my ov'seer givynge for his paynes and labor one cock seven henns. Wytnes unto this my wyll and Testamente Clemente Melwaye and Richard Sawell.<sup>1</sup> If I have not gyven unto my Sonne Thomas my fyve shirts I doe gyve them hym wyth such thinges as I have sayed unto my nurse as this Wyll shall fulfyll. And soe I beseeche my father Melwaye and Richard Sawell to stand my good frynds. I doe give unto Richard Melwaye my own chaier with my beste cushynne. Unto my Sonne Thomas I sende this Penner and Inke. And this is my very laste Wyll as I have beforesayed. And for Christ sake lett it be delv'd unto Mr Baker whome made my ov'seer. Written wyth my owne hande

EDMOND DRAKE.

for ever soe desyryng Mr Baker to coppye oute this Wyll.

The only English version of the whole Bible of a portable size then extant was Miles Coverdale's translation, and even that was too big a book to be 'kept in bosome' otherwise than metaphorically. So few 'Coverdales' exist now that

<sup>1</sup> The Tavistock Sawells were ancestors of the present Sir Charles Graves Sawle. The above-mentioned Richard Sawell had property at Beerferrers, but he resided at Upchurch in Kent.



a copy is almost priceless, and in Edmund Drake's own day it must have cost so poor a man many a sacrifice to buy one. The 'Great Bible,' sixteen inches long and proportionably wide, the next published after Miles Coverdale's, was the only other English Bible obtainable until the authorised version was printed, and though by no means rare, it could not be had for less than a sum equal to six pounds of our money.

The first impression produced by Edmund Drake's rambling, almost incoherent will, is that it must have been written by a very old man; but that can scarcely have been the case, as his youngest brother lived for another forty years, his father had died only a few months previously, and his mother was still alive, residing probably with her son John in a small house at Plymouth, which is mentioned in the town records as 'the inheritance of Sir Francis Drake.' They were certainly not in the pleasant old farm-house in Crowndale, for it is clearly shown by the simultaneous and entire disappearance of the names of John and Margery Drake, together with those of John, junior, and Edmund, from the Subsidy Rolls for Tavistock parish after the year 1549, that the same convulsion which tore Edmund Drake away from his Devonshire moorings was, for a time at any rate, equally disastrous to the whole family.

It is curious that the will makes no mention of any living children other than Thomas; probably some of the boys besides Edward had died in infancy; Francis, John, and Joseph, who are known to have been alive, were most likely at sea, and Thomas—his father's Benjamin—may have been the only son near at hand. That he was not intended for a seafaring life we may gather from the nature of the bequests made to him, and without too great a stretch of imagination we may guess that Edmund Drake hoped that his best loved son might follow in his own footsteps, and in due time be a 'Preacher of the Word.'

In after life Thomas Drake was very ready with his pen, much more so than his eldest brother. His facility may perhaps be attributed to the instruction he received in the office of Mr. Baker. The identification of this gentleman is of a little interest as showing that Edmund Drake's old friend continued to be attached to his sons; and curiously enough amongst the Cecil MSS. for the year 1590 there is a petition to the Queen from Captain Baker asking to have his son joined with him in the office of Clerk Keeper of the Stores to the Admiralty, in which office he had served for fifty years, during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He refers to the Lord Admiral and to Sir Francis Drake as to the behaviour of his son, who had served as captain in all their actions. Edmund Drake, when living on board the hulk, must have been well acquainted with the Clerk and Keeper of the Stores, and no doubt as his own health failed he was glad to place Thomas with a friend who would give him useful instruction and set him in the way of maintaining himself as quickly as possible.

Although (Sir) Francis Drake is not mentioned in the will, it does indirectly offer some evidence respecting him which has been overlooked by those writers who give 1546 as the date of his birth. Thomas Drake was not of age at the time of his father's death. We know this because, owing to his minority, the will was proved by Richard Sawell and Clement Mylwaye, his maternal uncle. Judging from the bequests and instructions to Thomas, he cannot have been less than twelve years old, so that he must have been born in 1555 or 1556<sup>1</sup>; and he was the youngest of the surviving brothers, if not of all the twelve children.

These facts speak for themselves, and go to prove the correctness of the date which is on the Buckland Abbey

<sup>1</sup> The Inquisition held on Sir Francis Drake's death in 1596 states that Thomas Drake was then forty years of age.

portrait of Sir Francis, 'Aetatis suae 52, Anno 1594,' and on the picture which was copied from it for the Corporation of Plymouth, in the year 1616, during the lifetime of his nephew, who was acquainted with his uncle and must surely have known his age.

The story of Sir Francis Drake's life has been told again and again by many authors, from the time of Stowe and Camden to the present day. Froude's grand chapters on the Spanish Armada and his 'English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century' are familiar to every reader; and lengthier biographies have been written by Johnson, Southey, Barrow, and Corbett. Of these four, the latter is the most accurate, and from every other point of view incomparably the best. His 'Life of Drake' is an instructive, refreshing, and truly delightful book. To attempt to do anew that which has been so admirably well done already would be inexcusable in one who has neither an abundance of unpublished documents to present nor the special abilities required for the task. For these reasons it will be sufficient here to give a mere outline of the great seaman's career, and enlarge only upon those events of his life which are connected with the history of heirlooms preserved in the family. We shall venture to add from private sources a few personal details, which must always be interesting to 'those of his name and blood.'



## CHAPTER II

FROM Camden's History we learn that Francis Drake went to sea at a very early age. It must have been before Edmund Drake obtained the living of Upchurch that 'by reason of his poverty he put his son to the master of a bark, with which he used to coast along the shore and sometimes to carry merchandise into Zealand and France. The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark to him by will and testament.'

Every man, says Bacon, is the architect of his own fortune, and this well-deserved legacy was the foundation-stone of Drake's prosperity. He sold the ship, and entered into the service of his cousins, John and William Hawkins, the enterprising sons of William Hawkins of Plymouth, 'a seaman much esteemed and beloved of King Henry VIII.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So much of Sir Francis Drake's early experience was due to the fact of his relationship to the Hawkinses that a note respecting them will not be unwelcome. In the days of Henry VIII, William Hawkins traded largely with Spain; he was a wealthy man, owning not a little property in Plymouth, for which place he was twice mayor, and in 1539 M.P. It may be that William Hawkins owed some of his prosperity to his mother's fortunate connexions. She was an Amadas of Launceston, related both to Robert Amadas, Master of the Mint and Keeper of the Jewels to Henry VIII, and to John Amadas, the King's Sergeant-at-Arms. William Hawkins married Mary Trelawney, an heiress, and by her he had two sons, William and John, who were the greatest 'adventure' promoters of their day. William, junior, married Catherine Mountjoy, but died without children. John (afterwards Sir John), like his father and grandfather, married advisedly. His first wife was Catherine, daughter of Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer and Comptroller of the Navy, to which post he was himself appointed in conjunction

The years 1565 and 1566 found Drake upon his first great ocean voyage. He sailed to the Indies under Captain Lovel, but owing to a stratagem of the Spaniards the expedition ended unfortunately, and Drake lost all the money he had put into it. His next voyage was one to New Guinea, and in this he seems to have been successful.

Drake had now gained considerable experience, and in 1567 he went again to the West Indies, as second in command under John Hawkins. This adventure was promoted nominally by Sir William Garrard and Co. The Queen was a shareholder and contributed two ships, but the greatest part of the cost was subscribed by the Hawkins family. Sale and barter was intended, and negroes were to be the cargo, for all the world bought slaves then with perfectly easy consciences. With fair weather, good seamanship and willing purchasers, the undertaking promised to be a success. Its promoters were well aware that in dealing with Spanish subjects they risked meeting with a hostile reception, but they prepared to risk it, for England never would admit that Philip had the right to shut the door of commerce upon a whole continent.

At first all went well. Hawkins disposed of his cargo of slaves at remunerative prices, and was upon the point of returning home with the profits of the business, when his squadron was caught by a hurricane and driven in a grievously shattered condition into the harbour of San Juan de Ulloa. The Spanish Governor there, Don Martin Enriques, gave the Englishmen permission to stay and refit, assuring them upon his word as a gentleman that they might do so in all safety; but, not thinking it necessary to keep faith with 'heretics,'

with his father-in-law in 1577. In 1588 he was knighted—six years after Sir Francis Drake. Sir John Hawkins married secondly Margaret Vaughan, who had been a Lady of Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth. He died in 1594, and in his will he bequeathed 'my best jewell a crosse of emerod to my very good cosen Sir Francis Drake.

three days later, when he knew they would be quite at his mercy, he attacked them, seized their goods, and getting hold of some of their company, including Drake's cousin, Robert Barret, threw them into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The crews fought desperately, but only two of the ships, one belonging to the Queen and one to the company, were able to get away in a sufficiently sound condition to cross the Atlantic. Drake, in the *Judith*, reached Plymouth first, and went up at once to report to the Council the ill-success of the venture ; soon afterwards Hawkins arrived, and before long it was known that Barret had been burned at the stake, and that his companions had been forced to recant under torture and threats of a like horrible death. This injury to his friends was one that Drake could never forget. It fixed in him the indelible hatred of religious tyranny which thenceforth made him regard war against Spain as a crusade in defence of truth and humanity, and no less an individual than a national duty.

The burst of indignation which the announcement of Don Enriques's perfidy and cruelty provoked needs no imagining. Fruitless negotiations followed between the Queen and the Spanish Ambassador, and whilst these were in progress, during the early part of 1569, Francis Drake, who was out of favour with the Queen just then,<sup>1</sup> took service in the Royal Navy, and was with Sir William Winter in the fleet which sailed to the relief of La Rochelle.

A few months later Drake was again at home, and on July 4 he was married at St. Budeaux's Church, near Plymouth, to Mary Newman, of whom nothing whatever is known beyond that she was a native of London, that she was young, and that she died in 1582. Like other sailors' wives, she must have been often alone, for during all the years of her married life her husband was rarely unemployed ; but

<sup>1</sup> Unjustly, as the event proved.



for six months immediately after their wedding Drake was at Plymouth, quietly maturing a scheme of his own, whereby 'he might right himself' with his adversary, the King of Spain, although 'he was but an English Captain and Philip (in his own conceit) the Mightiest Monarch of all the world.'

There is (says his nephew in 'Drake Revived') a particular indignation engrafted in the bosome of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking by all meanes possible to redresse and remedy the wrong received: he had been grievously indamaged not onely in the losse of his goods, of some value, but also of his kinsmen and friends; and finding that noe recompence could be recovered out of Spaine by any of his own meanes, or by her Majesty's letters, he used such helps as he might, by two several voyages into the West Indies; the first with two ships, the one called the *Dragon*, the other the *Swan*, in the year 70; the other in the *Swan* alone in the year 71; to gain such intelligence as might further him to get some amends for his losse.

There can be little doubt that the Queen and Cecil were privately informed of the plan; her Majesty may even have given some assistance. Throughout the whole of Drake's career it was always well understood between the Queen and himself that she should disavow him if it suited her.

At last the preparations were completed, and on May 21, being Whitsun Eve, 1572, Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth in the *Pascha*, a little ship of seventy tons burden, accompanied by the *Swan*, of only twenty-five tons, of which his brother, John Drake, was captain. They had with them their younger brother Joseph, and seventy-three men and boys, all voluntarily assembled. 'There was but one of them had reached the age of thirty, and their modest end was nothing less than to seize the port of Nombre de Dios and empty into their holds the Treasure-House of the world.'<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, in the attack upon Nombre de Dios, Drake was so dangerously

<sup>1</sup> Corbett's *Life of Drake*.

wounded that they were not able to stay and sack the place, but later, in other directions, they made up for their disappointment, and the voyage was a complete success.

After an absence of fifteen months, and adventures which read more like a fairy tale than sober facts, Drake and his company arrived at Plymouth on Sunday morning, August 9, 1573, 'at which time,' says the chronicler, 'the newes of our Captaines returne did so speedily passe over all the Church, and surpasse their mindes with desire and delight to see him, that very fewe or none remained with the Preacher, all hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our Gracious Queen and Countrey, by the fruite of our Captaines labour and successe.'

But amidst all the excitement of this welcome Drake himself must have been sad at heart. He had recouped part of his losses, handsomely repaid the adventurers, established his position as a seaman and a warrior, and taught the King of Spain a sharp lesson; but of the two young brothers who had sailed with him to the Spanish Main, neither returned to share in the kindly greetings of the home-coming.

Of Joseph, we know only that he took fever in the West Indies and died in his brother's arms on January 3, 1572.

The account of John Drake's end is more detailed. It happened that whilst he was left in temporary command for a few days, during his brother's absence on one of the pinnaces, a Spanish frigate came in view, which the company who were with John Drake 'deemed had been fit booty for them. But he told them that they wanted weapons to assaile, they knew not how the frigate was provided, but when this would not satisfye them but they still urged upon him with words and supposals; "If you will need adventure (said he) it shall never be said that I will be hindmost neither shall you report to my Brother that you lost your voyage by any cowardice of mine." Thereupon they took them such poore

weapons as they had, viz. ; a broken pointed rapier, an old visque and a rusty calliver,' and they boarded the Spanish frigate, but found her bristling with firearms, which were discharged in their faces, and John Drake and another being grievously wounded, 'they got back to the pinnace and rowed with all the haste they could to their ship, where within an howre this young man of great promise ended his dayes greatly lamented of all the Company.'

A singular document, unsigned by the testator but purporting to be the will of John Drake, which his brother Francis brought home with him and proved in London, gives a picture of the scene.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. Anno 1573. John Drake in the County of Devon, Maryner, being on a voyage to the Indys sodenlie stricken with a gunne shott and nigh his death, and being there at that instant, which was about the iXth or Xth daye of June last past in Anno Domini 1573, in good and perfect memorie, was demaunded by two or three of the other Maryners in the same Shippe at that present time, whether he had made his testament left at any place, whoe answered that he had made none at all, wherefore said he I do now nomynate and appoynt my brother ffrauncis Drake to be my full and sole Executor of such goods as I have excepting myne adventure of xxxlb which I have in this Shippe called the *Pascoe* of Plymouth, the which xxxlb, with the profitt of the same adventure coming, I give unto Alice Drake my wife, and shall desire my brother ffrauncis to see it truelie paid and contented to my said weif. And further because my wief is a yonge woman I have made my saied brother executor, to the intent that he may be an aid and help unto my said wief (as I trust he will).

Theis witness

JOHN CROCKER.      JOHN PROUSE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Both the witnesses bore good West-country names. Drake's little band were all volunteers, and probably most of them were portionless younger sons of junior branches of their families. Westcote says, 'Near unto the river Yealm standeth Lynham in his little park, long possessed by the worthy name of Crocker.' Sir John Crocker, of Lynham, Sheriff of Devon in the second year of Henry VIII,



The arrangement by which Alice Drake was to some extent dependent on the good offices of her brother-in-law was not a permanent one, for although he obtained probate about six months after his return, in the following year, when she had remarried, the validity of the will was disputed, but by whom does not appear. The Court pronounced it to be null and void, and letters of administration were granted to Alice Cotton. She thus became entitled to claim not only the profits of her husband's last adventure, but whatever else he may have possessed. It is not easy to see what she gained by the suit, for John Drake seems to have expressed very clearly that he only appointed his brother to be executor as trustee for her benefit. It is possible that the Drakes disliked Mr. Cotton, and, resenting the haste with which Alice married again, made some difficulties about giving her everything that had belonged to her late husband.

The Cotton family with whom she allied herself may have been either mercantile or sea-going; the name occurs frequently under both heads. One Cotton is mentioned in the State Papers as setting out on some especial business in the year 1575; and another of the name, under cover of his mercantile calling, was in constant treasonable correspondence with Roman Catholic plotters; if he were Alice's husband, the disapproval of Francis Drake would be readily understood. In any case she was not a penniless widow, for the treasure which Drake and his companions brought home was of very great value, and the profit accruing on John Drake's share must have amounted to a sum sufficient at least to maintain her for the rest of her life.

had five sons, Hugh, William, Christopher, John, and George, and four daughters, one of whom, Barbara, married Walter Elford, of Shepstor, the step-son of Thomas Drake.

The noble family of Prouze, as Westcote styles them, were seated in Devonshire and Somersetshire, and were connected with the best families in both counties. They spelt the name indifferently with s or z. A Captain Prouse, doubtless the above-mentioned witness, served under Sir Francis Drake against the Armada.

At the time of Francis Drake's return to England the Government was in a particularly difficult position. It was of vital importance to the Queen to frustrate Philip's designs, but it did not suit her then to break with him; and Drake could scarcely have been surprised if she had disowned any complicity in his late exploits. 'This time, however, Elizabeth showed no desire to evade her responsibility.'<sup>1</sup> She was perhaps too deeply compromised, for she was universally believed to have had a share in the adventure, and when Drake presented her with a negro slave he had taken out of a house at Carthagen, she accepted him and showed him publicly at Court as a curiosity.

But for all this, the Queen would not give Drake permission to undertake any fresh expedition on similar lines, and till he could obtain at the least her indirect sanction, it would have been the extremity of rashness on his part to have attempted anything of the kind.

Idleness not being in his nature, Drake filled up the time by fitting out three frigates at his own expense, and with them, accompanied by his little cousin, John Drake, who acted as his page, he joined the Royal Navy, and as captain of the *Falcon* served under Essex in the Irish campaign of 1575. Many of his old friends were already in Ireland—among others, Francis Russell, Edmund Tremayne, Walter Raleigh, and Sir Peter Carew. There too was Philip Sydney, between whom and Drake a lasting friendship was inaugurated.

When Essex no longer required his services, Drake returned to London, bearing a letter to Walsingham from the Earl, recommending him most strongly as a man especially fitted to serve against the Spaniards.

Walsingham, who was not always in agreement with Burleigh's timorous foreign policy, strongly advocated war

<sup>1</sup> Froude.

with Spain, and entering into Drake's plans, did all he could to forward them. Partly by his influence, backed by that of the Earl of Leicester and of Sir Christopher Hatton, and partly because King Philip had just then seized a ship belonging to Sir Thomas Osborne and thrown her crew into the dungeons of the Inquisition, Drake at last obtained the Queen's permission to set out on the wonderful voyage which has immortalised his name.

It was styled 'An Expedition for Trade and Exploration,' but in reality the Queen and Drake intended nothing else than an attack on the Spanish Colonies of South America.

He had five ships under his command. All of them were equipped with arms of the most modern and approved fashion, and young men of the most distinguished families in England esteemed it a favour to be permitted to be of the voyage. The 'admiral,' as the flag-ship was then called, carried a band of musicians and was supplied with every comfort and luxury which could be thought of for a sea-going ship at that period.

One relic connected with our hero's departure on this voyage should be mentioned here; it is his miniature by Isaac Oliver, taken, we doubt not, to comfort and console his wife in his absence. The likeness, which is admirably painted, shows Drake as a young man with wavy hair, a slight moustache, grey-blue eyes, and the curiously arched eyebrows so observable in all his best authenticated portraits. He wears a black Spanish suit and a ruff edged with pointed lace. The picture is enshrined in an oval locket of very brilliant enamel, red on the one side and green on the other; the edges are decorated with white enamel, and it opens and closes by means of a delicately fashioned screw, from which depend two pear-shaped pearls of excellent quality. This is the only known portrait of Francis Drake taken before his voyage round the world, but the public are not well



acquainted with it, as it has never been exhibited, owing to its very fragile condition.

On the 13th day of December 1577,<sup>1</sup> Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth in the *Pelican*, a new, strongly built ship of 100 tons; with him were the *Swan*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Christopher*, and the *Marygold*. Port St. Julian was reached in June 1578, but before then two of the smaller vessels had had to be broken up, and only the *Elizabeth* and the *Marygold* were with Drake when he found the opening to the Straits of Magellan. As they entered these Straits, through which no English ship had passed before—and none of any country in that generation—Drake ‘caused his little fleet to strike their top-sails upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad mind to show his dutiful obedience to her highness, whom he acknowledged to have a full interest and right in that discovery, and withal in remembrance of his honourable friend, Sir Christopher Hatton, he changed the name of the ship wherein himself was, from the *Pelican* to be called the *Golden Hind*.’

Onward through unknown dangers, for a fortnight they anxiously steered their way, and at last, on September 6, rounded out safely into the Pacific Ocean; but not to rejoice; only to be whirled into the rush of the most ‘incredible’ storm that can be imagined. The *Golden Hind*, seized by the fury of the gale, was parted from her consorts and helplessly carried along to the south of Cape Horn, into latitudes where no ship had ever sailed; and thus, against his will, Drake made the grand discovery ‘that the Atlantik Ocean and the South Sea meet in a most large and full scope.’

For fifty-two days the ship was driven before the wind, tossed up and down in a raging sea; then suddenly the

<sup>1</sup> ‘He sailed from England . . . on the same day on which the comet appeared which was seen here in New Spain.’ Deposition of Gaspar de Bargas, No. 8, T. 26, Coleccion de Navarrete.



*Sir Francis Drake*  
*from a miniature by Isaac Oliver*





storm subsided and Drake was able to turn his helm to the north again. His first care was for the missing ships of his company. Searching for them in every creek or harbour where they might have taken refuge, he coasted along the shores of Peru as far as latitude  $30^{\circ}$ , and not until he found that there was no likelihood or hope of meeting with them again, did he continue on his way and resume his attacks on Spanish settlements and shipping.

The *Neustra Sennora de Concepcion*, popularly called the *Cacafuego* (the *Spitfire*), was his richest prize. Whilst at Lima, in Peru, the Englishmen heard that Philip's magnificent galleon, 'the Glory of the South Sea,' laden with gold and silver, had sailed for Panama just fourteen days before their arrival. Such a prize was not to be missed. For nearly three weeks they chased her, and Drake promised that 'whoever of their company should first descrye her should have his chain of gold for his good newes,' and it fortuned that 'John Drake [his young cousin] going into the top descried her about three of the clock' on the first day of March 1578, when they were about a hundred and fifty leagues from Panama.

In the evening they boarded her, and having removed her master, San Juan de Anton, on to their own ship, before the day dawned they had taken the *Cacafuego* out to sea; all that day and the next day and night they sailed with her, till they were far from the sight of land in the open ocean, where they shifted the bullion at their leisure into the holds of the *Golden Hind*. Besides the gold and silver, coined and uncoined, which, with other things taken from this ship, the Spanish Ambassador afterwards estimated as a loss to his country of a million and a half of ducats (£692,250), they found in her 'great store of pearls, emeralds and diamonds' supposed to have been of enormous value, and amongst other plate 'two very faire guilt and silver drinking

bowls, which were the pilot's, to whom our General sayed, Sennor Pilot, you have here two silver cups but I must needes have one of them; which the pilot because he could not otherwise chuse yielded unto, and he gave the other to the Steward of our General's ships.' It is a noticeable thing that of all the spoil taken at different times from Spanish prizes but few of the articles are particularly described, and the especial mention of these cups leads one to suppose that there was something very remarkable about them. If so, they could scarcely have been the private property of Francesco, the pilot; very likely they were being taken out under his especial care to the Viceroy of Peru, or some wealthy grandee, which would account for the little difficulty Francesco made about parting with the second one. He probably had no personal loss in either, and was well repaid by the gift of a few commodities likely to be of more use to himself.

The present interest of this anecdote lies in the fact that the great silver and gilt cup, now preserved amongst the Drake relics at Nutwell Court, is, we have good reason to believe, none other than the first of those mentioned above.

San Juan de Anton remained for a week on board the *Golden Hind*, during which time he was well treated and conducted all over the ship. He reported afterwards to the Viceroy of Peru that she was admirably appointed with arms and everything that could be wanted by sea and land, and that she carried cartographers, who were making charts of the coast as they went, so that whole fleets might follow in her track.

No secret was made of the spoil taken from Spanish vessels. San Juan was allowed to view it all, including a great crucifix of gold set with emeralds as big as pigeons' eggs. Drake told him that the treasure was for the Queen, whose commission he had for all he had done, and then,

thinking no doubt of his kinsman, Robert Barrett, and of hapless friends who had been tortured and burned at the stake by the Inquisition at Seville and in Mexico, he added, 'I know that the Viceroy will send for thee to inform himself of my proceedings. Thou mayest tell him that he shall do well to put no more Englishmen to death, and to spare those four that he has in his hands, for if he do execute them, they shall cost the lives of two thousand Spaniards, whom I will hang and send him their heads.'

And so with this wholesome warning, which may have been the means of saving the life—although not the liberty—of young John Drake, when two years later he fell into the hands of another Spanish Viceroy, San Juan de Anton was allowed to return to the *Cacafuego*, and permitted to go on his way 'with a little linen and the like in exchange for the commodities taken from him'; but before they parted, Drake called for the ship's book, 'Il gran registro,' and wrote his name on the margin, in receipt for all the treasure that had been entered as freight; finally, in case San Juan should be further molested by any English ship, and in the hope that he might meet with the *Elizabeth* or the *Marygold*, Drake gave him a letter of safe conduct, which we quote in its entirety, as it shows a different side of the great Captain's character.

Master Winter, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meet with this ship of San Juan de Anton, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise given unto them, and if you want anything that is in this ship of San Juan de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe; and command your men not to do her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we have made, at my returne into England I will by God's helpe performe. Although I am in doubt that this letter will never come into your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I have promised to bee: beseeching God the Saviour of all the



world to have us in His keeping, to Whom only I give all honour, praise and glory. What I have written is not only to you, M. Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of Him that with His blood redeemed us, and in good hope that we shall be in no more trouble, but that He will help us in adversitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger that you will not despaire of God's mercy, for He will defend you and preserve you from all danger and bring us to our desired haven: to Whom be all honour, glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

Your sorrowful Captain, whose heart is heavy for you,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

About three weeks after parting with San Juan de Anton, Drake fell in with a Spanish ship laden with silks and porcelain. She was commanded by her owner, Don Francisco de Zarate, from whom, says Hackluyt, Drake 'took a faulcon of gold with a great emerald in the breast thereof; he took also the pilot of the ship with him and so cast the vessel off.' A letter from the Don himself, describing his encounter with Drake, has been found within the last few years among the documents at Simancas. As this letter has never been published in English, we may be excused for giving a full translation of it here. It is addressed to Don Martin Enriques, Viceroy of New Spain.

REALJO, NICARAGUA,

16 April, 1579.

Though I set out with no understanding that Your Excy. should show me the indulgence which you have always done, I shall touch at no port without reporting to you, especially with the occasion which now offers itself, and which I shall relate to Your Excy. in as few words as possible, without omitting anything of importance.

I set out from the port of Acapulco on the 23rd of March and continued sailing until Saturday, April the 4th, and half an hour before daybreak we saw by the moonlight a vessel very near to ours and he who steered called out to hold off, that we might not unrig ourselves. To this they made no

reply, making as if they were asleep ; they were hailed louder asking them whence the ship came ; they replied, from Peru and that it was Michael Angelo, who is a well known master of those parts ; he who spoke from the ship was a Spaniard, and further on I will tell Your Excy. his name. Our opponents' ship brought our barque ahead as if they would be taken in tow, and in a moment she passed under our stern, telling us to strike and firing 7 or 8 arquebusses ; we took it for a jest, but it proved to be in earnest. On our side there was no resistance whatever, nor even six men awake in the ship ; they came in without risk as if they had been friends. They harmed no one, only taking possession of the swords and keys of the passengers ; they informed themselves as to those who were on board and ordered me to go in their boat to where the General was. I was glad of it, thinking I should have more time to recommend myself to God, but in a very short time we came to where he was, which was in a very good galleon as well equipped for defence or offence as ever I saw in my life. He was walking about and I came to kiss his hands. He received me favourably and took me to his room, where he made me be seated and said to me : ' I am a friend to those who speak the truth, that is what will have the most weight with me. What silver or gold does this ship bring ? ' I told him, none. He again asked me. ' None, only some plates for my service and some cups are to be found in her.' He was silent for a moment and then asked me if I knew Your Excy. ; I told him Yes. ' Do you carry any relation of his or anything which belongs to him ? '—' No, sir.'—' It would give me more pleasure to come across him than all the gold and silver of the Indies, that I might see how gentlemen keep their word.'<sup>1</sup> To this I answered nothing ; he rose and told me to come with him, and brought me below to the stern cabin where there was a prison, which amongst themselves they call a *vallista* [ballast]. At the end of it was an old man. He said to me : ' Sit down, for here you are to be.' I took it in good part and being about to do it, he prevented me and said : ' I do not wish at present to subject you to this, only tell me who that man is.'—I replied that I did not know him.—' Then learn that

<sup>1</sup> Don Martin Enriques was he who, in 1568, as Governor of San Juan de Ulloa, had treacherously seized upon Barrett and others of Drake's friends, and handed them over to the Inquisition.

he is a pilot, whom the Viceroy sent to Panama to carry Don Gonçalo to China, and that he is called Colchero.'—He had him brought out of prison and we all again went on deck. This was the man who spoke to us from the galleon when we were taken. We spoke together a great while until the dinner hour. He told me to sit beside him and treated me from his dishes, bidding me have no fear, for my life and goods were safe; for which I kissed his hands. He asked me whether I knew where water could be had about there, for he needed nothing else, and that having it he would give me leave to continue my voyage. I did not then dare to ask him anything; but waiting an opportunity I begged him not to permit us to pass again the Gulf of Teguantepec. He answered that he would see to it, and would despatch me shortly. Early the next day, which was Sunday, he dressed and made himself exceedingly fine, and commanded to throw out all the streamers and flags which the galleon carried; he also commanded that all our people should pass to another vessel which he brought and which he had taken on this same coast; and this business he had carried on since he reached Chile, where he had in his hands a vessel with a great quantity of gold and many others laden with silver. He entered the Calloa de Lima and cut the cables of all the ships in the port, and the wind being from the land they went out to sea, where he could plunder them at his will; before doing likewise to our vessel, he said to me: 'Send one of your pages with me to show me your clothes.' He left his galleon about nine in the morning and remained almost till nightfall searching all the bales and coffers; of mine he did not take much and was courteous, for certain trivial objects belonging to me, having found favour with him, he gave orders to carry them to his ship and gave me for them a hanger and a silver brazier, and I assure Your Excy. that he lost nothing in the bargain. On his return to his ship, he asked me to pardon him and that he had taken these things for his wife,<sup>1</sup> and that I could go to-morrow when the sea breeze set in. For which I thanked him. The next day, which was Monday, he entertained himself in returning their boxes to several of the passengers who were there, until the dinner hour; he ordered dinner to be brought in because the wind was rising. After which he said

<sup>1</sup> The falcon of gold was probably a sleeve ornament.



that he himself wished to embark me, and commanded that his best boat should be got ready, and that two dozen arquebusiers should go in it, and ordered one of the gunners to be called and commanded him to take half a dozen pieces. This being done he told me to embark with him as nothing else was wanting; I did so, and we came to our ship, into which he went first, and calling the sailors, gave them each a handful of testoons, and to some other men who seemed to him most badly off. . . . He ordered that one of the sailors should embark with him to show him where he could water, and all pleading ignorance, he took Juan Pascual by force and put him into his chaloupe, saying he would hang him if he said another word. With this he took leave of me, and the last words he said were to earnestly ask me to tell certain Englishmen living in Lima that I had come across him on the 6th of April, and that he was well; from which it is to be inferred that he has spies in all this kingdom and in that of Peru, and I can myself tell Your Excy. that two or three of those in his service have sailed in this part of New Spain. He gave me Colchero and upon this set sail. I understand that he carries three thousand bars of silver and twelve or fifteen coffers of pieces of eight<sup>1</sup> and a great quantity of gold; he goes straight for his country, and I believe no vessel going after him will come up with him; he is most anxious to return.

This English General is a cousin of John Hawkins; he is the same who about five years ago took the port of Nombre de Dios; he is called Francis Drake; a man of some five-and-thirty years, small of stature and red bearded, one of the greatest sailors on the sea, both from skill and power of commanding. His ship carried about 400 tons, is swift of sail, and of a hundred men, all skilled and in their prime, and all as much experienced in warfare as if they were old soldiers of Italy. Each one in particular takes great pains to keep his arms clean; he treats them with affection, and they treat him with respect; he brings with him nine or ten gentlemen, the younger sons of English noblemen. These are his council, and he calls them on every occasion, however unimportant; he is not bound by their advice, but hears what they have to say, and afterwards gives his orders; he has no favourite. These of whom I speak sit at his table, and a Portuguese

<sup>1</sup> A dollar is the modern equivalent of a piece of eight.

pilot,<sup>1</sup> whom he brings from England, and who never spoke a word all the time I was there. His service is of silver, richly gilded and marked with his arms; he brings all the luxuries and perfumes possible, many of them he said were given him by the Queen. None of these gentlemen sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission. This galleon of his carries some thirty large pieces of artillery and a large quantity of fireworks, much munition and other necessary provision. He dines and sups to the music of violins; he carries all sorts of carpenters and caulkers so as to be able to careen his ship when necessary.

This ship is new and double planked. I believe that all the crew received wages, for when our vessel was plundered, none dared take anything without his leave; he was very gracious to them but punished the smallest fault. He carries also painters who paint him the coast in its own colours; which was what grieved me most to see, for everything is put so naturally, that anyone following him could in no way lose himself.<sup>2</sup>

I understood from him that he had brought out from his country five vessels and four large chaloupes, and I understood this to be so from what I tell Your Excy. This corsair first came to the entrance of the Straits two months before the season, and was there many days in great storms, so much so that one of the gentlemen with him said: 'We have been long in these Straits and all who follow and serve you you have placed in danger of death; take it into consideration and give orders that we should return to the North Sea, where our prizes are sure, and do not let us seek new discoveries, since you see how difficult they are.' This gentleman must have expressed his opinion with greater warmth than the General

<sup>1</sup> Nuno da Silva.

<sup>2</sup> A set of Drake's maps, similar in character to those described in the text, has recently been discovered by M. Ch. de la Roncière amongst the geographical collections at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The drawings in question were made on board the *Defiance* during Drake's last expedition in 1596. They are coloured sketches of the coasts of the West Indian Islands, and they show the outlines of mountains, hills and forests quite clearly. On each map or plan is a little picture of the *Defiance* exactly in the position from which the sketch was taken. In M. de la Roncière's interesting pamphlet, 'Un Atlas Inconnu de la dernière Expédition de Drake,' he draws attention to the fact that all the persons on board the ships are represented as wearing red garments, from which it may be inferred that, even in Elizabethan times, there was some attempt at a naval uniform, and that it was scarlet.

thought fitting, for he gave orders that he should be taken below and placed in irons, and the next day at the same hour he had him brought out and beheaded before them all; he being kept in prison just sufficient time for him to be tried.<sup>1</sup>

This he told me himself, speaking very well of the dead man, but saying that he could not have done otherwise as her Majesty's service required it, and showing me the instructions he carried. I questioned him, wishing to know if the dead man had left any relations there; I was told there was only one, and that he was amongst those who sat with him at the table: and during all the time I was there, which was fifty-five hours, this young man never left the ship, though all the others did so in turn, and it was not because they left him to watch me because I believe he was watched himself. I endeavoured to find out whether the General was liked, and everyone told me he was adored.

This is what I have been able to learn during the time I was with him. I beg Your Excy. to consider, if he reaches his country, what courage he will give them there, and if to now they have sent their second sons, from henceforth they will come themselves, seeing that the plans which this corsair has made in the dark, and all his promises have been realised, as with such a sum of gold and silver he will have proved his cause, and although this is a great evil, I hold it no less a one that his voyage should have made more than twenty skilled pilots of the road of Peru. May Your Excy. pardon so long an account of this occurrence, its importance seeming to me an excuse for being troublesome. May God keep Your Excy. &c.

From the Port of Realjo, province of Nicaragua, Holy Thursday, the night of April 16th of the year 1579. Most Excellent Senor, your servant kisses your hands.

DON FRANCISCO DE ÇARATE.

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the trial and death of Mr. Thomas Doughty see *The World Encompassed*, p. 32, and Corbett's *Life of Drake*, p. 74. That Drake had no private ends to gain, and that he was right according to the law and custom of the time, seems fairly proved. After all, in a matter of this kind, the judgment of contemporaries is the safest guide, and although 'it was ruled that in the case of Sir Francis Drake who strook off the head of Mr. Doughty in partibus transmarinis, that his brother might have an appeal,' nothing came of it, and the legality of Drake's action was never called in question. Curiously enough, the exact procedure which he had adopted was enjoined on Fenton in the following year, in case of mutiny on board his ship, and this leads one to think that Drake had been guided by established precedent.



Being now fully satisfied that his discoveries were important enough to merit the approval of the Queen, and that his prizes were sufficient to avenge the injuries inflicted on himself and his countrymen by the Spaniards, Drake resolved to take his treasure-laden ship home as quickly as possible ; but, as he felt sure the enemy would be lying in wait for him at the Straits of Magellan, he decided not to hazard a return that way, but to discover a route for himself ; first to the Moluccas, and thence to follow the course of the Portuguese merchantmen round the Cape of Good Hope.

He was fortunate enough to capture some Spanish charts, and, imperfect though these were, by their aid and his own happy inspiration, he arrived safely at the Moluccas on November 3, 1579. He was proceeding to Tidore, with the intention of replenishing his exhausted stores at the Portuguese settlement there, when an official of the Sultan of Ternate induced him to turn aside to that island.

In 1570, the Sultan Aero, the father of the reigning Sultan Baber, had been treacherously murdered with the flower of his Court while the guest of Don Lopes de Mosquita, the Portuguese Governor of the Moluccas ; Baber had fled to the Mountains, and after years of guerilla warfare had succeeded in expelling his father's murderers from Ternate ; he was now at open war with the Portuguese, and naturally welcomed the first appearance of a rival European power in his seas. He gave Drake a splendid reception and sent his own canoe to tow the *Golden Hind* to safe anchorage. Baber was the most powerful Sultan of the Spice Islands, ruling over some hundred of them, and Drake was successful in making an exclusive treaty of commerce on behalf of his Mistress. As this was the first treaty of the kind ever made by England in the Indies, it may fairly be considered as the foundation stone of our eastern trade. The attempt was made to work it in the following year, but the incompetency of the officer, to whom against Drake's wishes the expedition was intrusted, rendered it abortive, and the outbreak of the Spanish war prevented any fresh attempt.

Still, on the foundation of the East India Company, the treaty became again of great importance, and formed the unanswerable argument for years to come by which our diplomatists met the Spanish and Portuguese protests against our intrusion in the Indian Seas.<sup>1</sup>

But to return to Drake and his companions. After leaving the Moluccas, the *Golden Hind* met with many terrible perils from storms and tempests, and once, striking on a rock, she narrowly escaped shipwreck ; but at last all difficulties were overcome, and on September 26, 1580, they arrived safely, and ‘with joyful minds and glad hearts’ entered Plymouth harbour.

<sup>1</sup> Kindly contributed by Mr. Corbett.

### CHAPTER III

FRANCIS DRAKE was the first commander who had sailed around the globe. He had been absent two years and eight months, and for the greater part of that time nothing had been heard of him—not a whisper had come since the return of Winter, who could only report how they had been parted at the entrance to the South Sea. The Spaniards hoped that their despoiler was dead, and his own countrymen had almost given him up for lost. All the livelier then were the felicitations and the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed. The bells of St. Andrew's were set a-ringing, and his wife and the mayor went on board his ship.

But Drake was cautious, and would not land. He knew the changing moods of the Queen, and scarcely had he come within the harbour, when friends warned him that the Spanish party were again in the ascendant and that enemies envious of his success were at work representing him to be a pirate. Therefore, before attempting to unload, he sent a messenger to the Court and, warping his ship behind the island of St. Nicholas, awaited events. Within a week he received a summons to present himself, and was told 'to bring with him some specimens of his labours, and to have no fear of anything.'

The Queen received him favourably, and London talked of nothing but his wonderful exploit. Walsingham and the Protestants were delighted at the blow the hero had dealt



at their enemy, but Burleigh and a few statesmen of the peace party received him with marked coldness.

To satisfy them and to quiet Mendoza the Queen ordered an inquiry, when the whole of Drake's crew swore on oath that not a single act of cruelty had been committed on any Spanish subject. That was comforting, but it was not so much concerning the sufferings of his countrymen as about their losses that Mendoza was really troubled, and with regard to the plunder the Queen refused to be hurried into an immediate decision. Before there could be any talk of restitution, heavy deductions would have to be made for wrongs inflicted on British subjects, wrongs long complained of and still unredressed. So Edmund Tremayne—then at Collacombe in Devonshire—was ordered to attend at Plymouth to weigh and register the treasure and see it all sent off to the Tower of London. But Drake had told the Queen privately that nearly twice as much value was on board the *Cacafuego* as had been registered in the ship's books for customs duty. Mendoza would know the amount that had been entered, but could only make a guess at the overplus. Elizabeth was by no means anxious to enlighten the Spanish Ambassador; therefore, simultaneously with her open order to Tremayne, she sent Drake to him with a letter under her sign manual, desiring him not to be too inquisitive; but before any inventory was made, he was to give Drake an opportunity of removing property to the value of ten thousand pounds, out of which he was to reward himself and his company.

There can be little doubt that, having the Queen's generous permission to reserve somewhat for himself, Drake would, amongst other things, have chosen one article at the least which he could keep as an abiding record of the most important capture he had made—whether it be regarded from the public or the private point of view—and we are therefore strongly

inclined to believe that the memento he selected was the 'faire silver and gilt' drinking cup taken from the King of Spain's own ship, and that it is none other than the one preserved at Nutwell to this day. Antiquaries, who had an opportunity of examining it at the time of the Tudor Exhibition, pronounced it to be of foreign manufacture, but not understanding the marks they could not say where it was made or give its exact date, only they averred that it was of greater antiquity than the celebrated Clare 'Poison Cup,' which would seem to have been partly copied from it. The Drake cup was probably Italian, and, except for its beautiful workmanship, it could have been by no means one of the most valuable pieces of the spoil, for we hear of much more magnificent things which Drake gave as presents to his friends; but he seems to have had an especial liking for handsome plate on his own table, a taste which Queen Elizabeth remembered when she made him another present which will be mentioned a little further on.

Edmund Tremayne's letter to Walsingham at this time deserves for many reasons to be quoted here.

To give you (he says) some understanding how I in particular proceeded with Mr. Drake, I have at no time entered into the account, to know more of the very value of the treasure than he made me acquainted with. And to say truth, I persuaded him to impart to me no more than he need, for I saw him so commanded in her Majesty's behalf, that he should reveal the certainty to no man living. I have only taken notice of so much as he has revealed, and I have seen the same to be weighed, registered and packed; to be carried according to the counterpass be or shall come, to your hands. And to observe her Majesty's command for the secret delivery on leaving of the ten thousand pounds to remain in his hands, we agreed that he should take it to himself out of the portion that was landed secretly, and to remove the same out of the place before my son Henry and I should come to the weighing and registering of that which was left; and so it was done,

and no creature living by me made privy to it but himself, and myself no privier to it than as you may perceive by this. And as by offering to do more than this I might show myself a busy officer to go beyond my commission to lead me, so in the matter general I see nothing to charge Mr. Drake further than he is inclined to charge himself; and withal I must say as I find by apparent demonstration, he is inclined to advance the value to be delivered to her Majesty, and seeking in general to recompence all men that have been in this case dealers with him, so as I dare take an oath with him that he will rather diminish his own portion than leave any of them unsatisfied.

And for his mariners and followers, I have been an eye-witness and have heard with mine ears upon the shutting up of these matters, such certain shew of good will as I cannot see that many of them will leave his company wheresoever. His whole course of his voyage hath shewed him to be of great valour, but my hap has been to see some particularities, and namely in this discharge of his company, as doth assure me he is a man of great government, and that by the rules of God and His Book. So as proceeding upon such a foundation his doings cannot but prosper.<sup>1</sup>

The chests of bullion and the cases of jewels which Tremayne registered were deposited first in a 'tower near Saltash,' and thence they were taken to the Tower of London;<sup>2</sup> but the amount which Drake was ordered to abstract privately was left at Radford in the charge of his friend, Christopher Harris. It has been suggested that this £10,000 was in reality given to Drake as compensation for losses incurred by himself, Hawkins, and company in the trading expedition of 1568, when their cargo was treacherously plundered by the Governor of San Juan de Ulloa. If so, as the Queen was also one of the adventurers on that occasion, it is probable

<sup>1</sup> Tremayne to Walsingham, Nov. 1580. MSS. Dom.

<sup>2</sup> 'The treasures are lodged in a tower near Saltash, where he has 40 men to guard them. Drake has returned to the Court, where he passes much time with the Queen, by whom he is highly favoured,' &c.—B. de Mendoza to the King, Oct. 23, 1580.



that not a little of the spoil hidden at Radford found its way quickly and quietly into her hands. And this is the more likely because, soon after the *Golden Hind* had been brought to Deptford by her orders, she was so well pleased with Drake that she gave him another £10,000—this time quite openly.

But that was not all; the Queen was resolved to read a lesson to those who, under the cloak of slights to Drake, had reproached her also for her share in promoting that and previous expeditions. She had already given him a sword, with the ominous words, 'Whoso striketh at thee, Drake, striketh also at Us,' and now, on New Year's Day following his return, she wore publicly a magnificent crown of emeralds with which he had presented her.<sup>1</sup>

Still further recognition followed. 'On the 4th of April, 1581, her Majesty dined at Deptford, and after dinner she entered Drake's little weatherbeaten ship,' which was decorated for the occasion, as gaily as might be with silken flags and streamers,<sup>2</sup> and 'there in the very ship which he had so happily guided about the world, she did make Captain Drake Knight, for reward of his service,' and decorated him at the same time with a beautiful pendant jewel,<sup>3</sup> containing her portrait most admirably painted, and a scarf of rich green silk edged with gold lace and embroidery, at each end whereof, worked in fine gold thread—on both sides alike—are the

<sup>1</sup> 'It has five emeralds, three of them almost as long as a finger, while the two round ones are valued at 20,000 crowns, coming as they do from Peru. He has also given the Queen a diamond cross as a new year's gift, as the custom is here, of the value of 5,000 crowns.'—Jan. 9, 1581. Bernadino de Mendoza to the King.

<sup>2</sup> These flags, in very fair condition, are still preserved at Nutwell Court.

<sup>3</sup> 'The double cameo, cut on a very fine Oriental sardonyx of rich brown colour, is surrounded by brilliant enamel mounting, richly jewelled, of the most admirable work; beneath is a cluster pendant of pearls, to which is attached a very fine drop pearl; within is a miniature of Queen Elizabeth, which is by Hilliard, but the jewel is believed to be the work of an Italian goldsmith. The cameo shows traces of drilling lengthways, which would indicate its being, as it probably was, antique.'

words : 'THE ALMIGHTY BE YOUR GUIDE AND YOUR PROTECTOR TO THE ENDE.'<sup>1</sup>

Some curious details respecting her Majesty's entertainment at Deptford are to be found in two letters to King Philip, written by Mendoza within a few days of the events he describes. He says that the banquet Drake gave to the Queen was finer than any that had been seen in England since the days of King Henry ; and relates that, as she entered the *Golden Hind*, her purple and gold garter slipped down and was trailing when M. de Marchaumont stooped and picked it up, gallantly claiming it for his master, the Duc d'Alençon, whose marriage with the Queen he was endeavouring to arrange. But 'the Queen asked for it, promising that he should have it back when she reached home, as she had nothing else with which to keep her stocking up. Marchaumont returned it, and she put it on before him.' It was Elizabeth's policy just then to show noticeable favour to the French Envoy, in order to make Philip believe that it was her real intention to marry Alençon, and therefore, jestingly saying to Drake that she had brought a gilded sword to cut off his head, she handed the weapon to Marchaumont, 'telling him that she authorised him to perform the ceremony for her, which he did . . . and Drake gave her a large silver coffer, and a frog<sup>2</sup> made of diamonds, distributing 1,200 crowns amongst the Queen's officers.'

<sup>1</sup> Legend attributes the embroidery to the handiwork of the Queen's maids of honour ; but it has not at all an amateurish air, and if these ladies put in the motto it is quite as much as they could have done. Belonging to the scarf, and worked in the same pattern, is a cap which in shape resembles the one worn by the Doges of Venice. Some persons have supposed this article to be a pocket, but the will of Thomas Drake seems clearly to establish that it was intended for a 'sea cap' of honour. It is less faded than the scarf, and was probably never used. Lord Howard of Effingham, however, wore something very similar, apparently as part of his official costume when Lord High Admiral.

<sup>2</sup> In the original the word is not very clear ; it may be rana, a frog, or rama, a branch.

After the ceremony was over, 'being as highly graced as his heart could wish,' Drake had the honour of entertaining her Majesty on board his vessel, and the silver goblet out of which she drank is preserved as a memorial of her visit.

The Queen inspected the ship, and was greatly interested in her, and then it was that she saw the 'Bible that Sir Francis had about ye Worlde,' and with her own hand wrote on the title-page thereof.<sup>1</sup>

It must have been about this time, although not on this particular occasion, that Queen Elizabeth gave Sir Francis the beautiful cocoa-nut, mounted in gold, respecting which there is a curious tradition.

Until cocoa-nuts were brought to Europe in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, none had been seen in England—at least not as fruits. It is true that, carried along by the Gulf stream and washed ashore as flotsam and jetsam, such things had been picked up singly and at rare intervals, but no one regarded them as having anything to do with the vegetable world; they were much more mysterious objects—nothing less than griffins' or dragons' eggs!

So when Drake gave one to his mistress as a curiosity and a new fruit, she, with the happy turn of fancy which was characteristic of her, gave it back to him set in gold, and mounted in a way which had reference to this credence, to her own royal arms, of which one of the supporters was a Tudor griffin, and to Drake's arms and name, 'El Draque' (the Dragon), as the Spaniards called him.

The body of the cup is kept in its place by golden straps with hinges, which prove the workmanship to be English, and these straps divide the surface into three compartments. In the first of these, engraved in gold, are the royal arms with

<sup>1</sup> The title-page of the Bible has been stolen. It is known to have been intact in 1856. During the last illness of Sir Trayton Drake a good many things disappeared, but circumstances made it impossible to recover any of them.





CUPS

Presented by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Drake



the Tudor supporters, a lion and a griffin; the second contains Drake's arms, with the date 1580; and in the third there is a quaint little bird's-eye view representing Drake's reception at Ternate. To the eastward or right of the picture is the island of Gillolo, and to the west of this are the five royal islands of the Moluccas, Ternate, Tidore, Makien, Motie, and Bajan. The *Golden Hind* is seen being towed to her mooring by the four large and great canoes mentioned by Hackluyt, in every one of which were certain of Baber's greatest nobles, 'attired in white cloth of Callicut and having over their heads, from one end of the canoe to the other, a covering of thin perfumed mats borne up with a frame made of reeds, under which everyone did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keep him from the heat of the sunne, divers of whom being of good age and gravitie did make an ancient and fatherlie shew.'

Many other scenes in Drake's adventures might just as well have been represented on the cup, but the Queen may have chosen this one as the least likely to give unbrage to the Spanish Ambassador, or because the cocoa-nut itself perhaps came from the Moluccas. The cover of the cup is chased to represent the waves of the sea, with monsters of the deep swimming about; it is surmounted by a golden ball which figures as the world, and on this is a charming model of Drake's famous ship. The whole is mounted on the back of a golden dragon of good size and spirited design.

Before quitting the subject of the Queen's visit to Deptford, it should be mentioned that she ordered the *Golden Hind* to be laid up in dock, 'as a monument for all posterity.' There accordingly the ship remained for many years, until at last, being too much decayed to receive further repairs, a chair was made of some of her timbers and presented to the University of Oxford. Another piece, which seems to have been a carved panel, was taken from the ship, either



then or at a previous period, and, with Drake's crest carved on the back, was preserved at Buckland Abbey, whence it was removed in 1782 to Nutwell Court.

Allusion has been made to Sir Francis Drake's coat-of-arms, and this seems the place to mention a matter which was at one time involved in much obscurity, but which has now been finally cleared up, thanks to the acumen and perseverance of Dr. H. H. Drake.

Owing to a foolish and manifestly untrue anecdote in Prince's 'Worthies of Devon,' there was until a few years ago an impression that, previous to receiving the honour of knighthood, Sir Francis had assumed the arms of another family of Drakes, to the great displeasure of their chief, Mr. Bernard Drake of Ash. All this is pure fiction, for, on the contrary, Bernard Drake and Sir Francis were the best possible friends, and there is documentary evidence to prove that the kindly feeling between them lasted as long as both parties lived.

It is true that in the grant of arms to Sir Francis Drake, dated June 20, 1581, there is no mention of his having the right to bear any arms other than those given him by the Queen, but the document is so profusely decorated that very little room is left for the writing, which gets more and more crowded towards the bottom of the parchment, and a great deal that is in the original draft at the Herald's College has been left out, apparently from want of space.<sup>1</sup> This was probably also the reason for the more important omission which caused Sir Francis to object to the grant as imperfect, and consequently, the day after its delivery, Robert Cook, 'Clarencieux,' handed to Sir Francis a fresh and properly worded document, which placed the new arms

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis doubtless had been hurrying the officials at the Herald's Office, in order to get the matter done with before he started for Terciera. The fleet was ready and he was daily expecting sailing orders, but the projected expedition never took place, for when the preparations were complete the Queen changed her mind.



a century before his time. There is not a single instance known of Sir Francis sealing with the new ship crest, although from the time he was knighted he used the arms the Queen gave him quarterly with his own waver dragon. An engraved portrait of him by Zundt may be seen in the Print Room of the British Museum; it was executed while Sir Francis yet lived, and in the right-hand corner of the picture the arms are given as above described.

But to revert to matters of more general interest. Stowe tells us that, having 'been graced with knightly honours and princely commendations and encouragement, Sir Francis forthwith visited his friends in Court and Town and Country, and his name and fame became admirable in all places, the people swarming daily in the streets to behold him.'

Notwithstanding all this wide-spread popularity, no part of England was so dear to Drake as his own sea-girt county of Devon, and now that he could afford to possess lands of his own he forthwith set about acquiring an estate there. With the singular opportuneness which so often favoured his designs, the very place to suit him was at this moment in the market. His friends, Christopher Harris and John Hele, had nine months previously purchased Buckland Abbey from Sir Richard Grenville for the sum of £3,400. Neither of them ever resided there, and it is pretty certain that they were only acting for Sir Francis, to whom, in the autumn of 1581, they reconveyed the property, after Sir Richard had received a 'pardon of alienation' from the Crown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are three deeds relating to this conveyance; all are witnessed by Richard Drake of Tavistock. In one of them an Arthur Drake is mentioned as 'attorney to deliver seizin.' He was not a son of Richard Drake's, that much is certain, and his name is not found anywhere else. Another curious thing in connexion with these deeds is that all three are docketed across the back with the names of 'francis Drake, Grace Drake' inscribed in an early handwriting, not resembling that of any Sir Francis Drake of Buckland. It looks as if persons of these names had somehow become possessed of the deeds, and before surrendering them had desired to immortalise themselves by writing their names upon them.



The history of the house is briefly as follows. Amicia, Countess of Devon, founded a monastery at Buckland in the year 1278. She brought the first monks to inhabit her new foundation from Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight. They were of the Cistercian Order, and their work was chiefly agricultural. In 1336 they enclosed the Abbey within walls, and fortified it to protect themselves from the depredations of roving Bretons, who, about that time, attacked Plymouth and burned down a great part of the town. Some of these walls, no doubt, remain, but only a small portion of them can be identified with any degree of certainty.

The first Abbot was appointed in the year 1281, and the last Abbot, John Tucker, had held the office for ten years when he surrendered the house to the King.

No fault was found with the Buckland monks, neither had any irregularities been complained of; they were dispossessed merely in accordance with the general policy of the Reformation, and considering that the annual rental of the lands belonging to the Abbey was not more than £241 17s. 9d., they were not inadequately pensioned. The Abbot received £60 a year for the rest of his life, and as the modern equivalent of that sum would be at the least £600 a year, he may be considered to have been amply provided for. A few years later he was appointed to the Vicarage of Buckland, which he held till Queen Mary came to the throne, when he was inducted to a better living.

The twelve monks were less handsomely dealt with, but they were probably able-bodied men who would have had no difficulty in supporting themselves, and they also may have obtained preferment in their degree. Six of them received yearly pensions of five pounds or a little over—equal in purchasing power to between £50 and £60 a year now; four of them sums under five pounds; and the

remaining two, who may have been serving brothers, £3 6s. 8d. a year each.

The first lay tenant of Buckland Abbey was John Pollard, Esq., a citizen of London, who had a lease from the Crown of the church, conventual buildings, lands, and churchyard for twenty-one years. At the expiration of his term, in May 1541, the whole demesne was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Richard Grenville of Bideford, *in capite*, for the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee. The monastic buildings appear to have remained much as they were, both in Pollard's time and in that of Sir Richard, but when the latter died in 1550, the property passed to his grandson and heir, the Sir Richard Grenville of the *Revenge*, and during the thirty years of his tenure great alterations were made. The cloisters were replaced by domestic offices, and the body of the church was converted into the dwelling-house. A good deal was destroyed, but much yet remains, including part of the porter's lodge, a separate building with a tower; the grand barn, which is 180 feet in length; a long room with a fireplace at either end, probably a kitchen, and above it a common sitting- or sleeping-room with no fireplace in it.

One relic of the old Abbey, a stone boss built in over an entrance doorway, always attracts the attention of archaeologists, as it is supposed to represent the features of the foundress, the Countess Amicia. The face may be that of a woman, but not a young one, the brow is adorned by a coronet, which surrounds a high coif, such as was worn by ladies in the thirteenth century, and if it were not for the ears, which are astonishingly large, the countenance would not be ugly.

The Cistercians of Buckland had the usual mole-like propensity of all monks for making subterranean passages. The entrance to one of these under the stables has been blocked up in recent years; it is believed to have led to the village. Besides this, there was an underground way

towards the river, and a tunnel under the Tavy, which existed certainly as late as the year 1706, at which time a survey was taken on account of a fishery dispute, and the site of the tunnel is marked thereon.

The changes inside the house have probably been greater than the external ones, but the old hall remains very much in the same state as when Sir Richard Grenville, the seaman, lived there. He it was who put up the oak panelling and the curious plaster work at one end of the hall, representing a knight who has retired from the world and taken to a life of religious contemplation. The knight has turned his war-horse loose, hung up his shield upon the Tree of Life, and, with a skull and an hour-glass beside him, sits quietly meditating upon death and eternity. This, perhaps, was Sir Richard's idea of the way in which a warrior should spend his declining years, but for himself fate had willed very differently.

The four figures over the large fireplace, also in plaster work of the same period, represent the classic virtues, Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude, and above them is the date 1576. The floor of the hall, of red and white triangular tiles, is very old and may be of the same date.

Outside the house, where the garden now is, was the monks' walk and their burial-place, shaded by venerable yew trees. The arched entrances to the vaults where some of them sleep in peace are plainly visible in the wall below the level of the garden. A little beyond this is the famous orchard they planted, said to be the oldest in Devonshire, and near by is the house, or the remains of it, where they stored the cider that was held in high esteem by their contemporaries.

The park in Elizabethan days was timbered and well stocked with deer; a grand old oak yet remains, in the branches of which Sir Francis is reputed to have found shelter upon an occasion when he was charged by an angry



stag. Legend says that he shot the beast, and that the antlers which since then have hung over the fireplace in the great kitchen are the very ones which might have made a little difference in the history of England. Sport, as it was then understood, is sure to have had a place in Sir Francis's country programme; but during his first visit to take possession of the Abbey, such relaxations must have been infrequent, for, in September 1581, he was elected Mayor of Plymouth, and the probability is that whilst his term of office lasted he resided as much as he could in one of his town houses to which a pleasant garden was attached. His stipend as mayor was £20 yearly, the usual amount at that period, but we see in the books of the corporation that his reception was attended by some especial festivities. 'Paide for the entertaynment of Sir Francis Drake, Kt., when his ladie came first X li.'

Early in 1582 he was in London again. At the time of the New Year, it was Queen Elizabeth's custom to accept presents from her courtiers, and at the same season some of her favourites received gifts from her. What did Sir Francis Drake offer to her Majesty this January? We can only guess, but if we are correct, it was the very charming pendant jewel now in the possession of Lord Fitzhardinge—a little ship in gold, pearls, and enamel, with a tiny gold boat as a drop to it.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's largesse to Sir Francis was of another sort, more substantial, but in its way no less artistic. The symbol thereof was a roll of parchment beautifully engrossed, and most exquisitely illuminated with a border of birds, fruit, and flowers. Inside the great initial letter E, which is about nine inches square, is a portrait of her Majesty enthroned,

<sup>1</sup> The Fitzhardinge jewel came into the possession of that family by George Cary, second Lord Hunsdon, who bequeathed it along with other jewels to his daughter Elizabeth, Lady Berkeley.

in robes of state. It is painted with all the fineness of a miniature, and the colours are as clear and brilliant now as they were three hundred years ago. Attached to the deed by a cord of twisted silk and gold is an impression of the Great Seal of England. The document recites that 'Whereas Sir Francis Drake, Kt. had circumnavigated the globe from east to west, and had discovered in the south part of the world many unknown places, her Majesty, to perpetuate his fame and valour, did grant unto him and his heirs all the manor of Sherford in Devonshire, once leased to Thomas Maynard and Walter Maynard for the term of their natural lives, once belonging to the Monastery of Plympton: to be held in capite, by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee. . . . Also the reversion of the Manor of Gouldsworth in Bucks,' and other inconsiderable properties in the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, and two houses near the town of Stamford, called Burston House and Burgoin House, which had formerly belonged to a nunnery there. Practically, the deed conferred little more upon Sir Francis than the manor of Sherford. It was customary to offer a portion of the properties granted to Cecil, as the price of his good will in the matter, and it is likely enough that this was done in the above case. Sir Francis only retained the Devonshire estate, which was then and long afterwards the home of his kinsmen, the Maynards; and as such it must have been very familiar to him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the death of Thomas Maynard, a further lease was granted to his son by the successors of Sir Francis Drake, who always regarded the Maynards as kinsmen. One Maynard was a monk at Buckland at the time when the monastery was suppressed, but, as a rule, in common with all the Drake connexions, the sympathies of the family were with Protestantism and freedom. Sir John Maynard, M.P., in Queen Mary's time was indicted for absenting himself from Parliament and refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. His son, Henry Maynard, was secretary to Lord Burleigh; and the celebrated Sir John Maynard, the eminent lawyer, better known as Sergeant Maynard, who was born at Tavistock in Queen Elizabeth's time, and lived to welcome William and Mary, was a grandson of John Maynard of Sherford.

The old manor house is now a farm, but it was once a place of some dignity; of this it was not entirely robbed until the year 1815, when the spacious hall, panelled with beautifully carved oak, was dismantled and converted into the present dwelling-house. Many generations of Maynards lived at Sherford; they held the manor as tenants under the monks of Plympton, and their ecclesiastical lease was still unexpired when, in 1582, the property was granted to Sir Francis Drake.



## CHAPTER IV

IN the spring of 1582, at the especial instance of Walsingham and of the Earl of Leicester, an expedition was organised for exploration and for trade with the Indies and Cathay. Sir Francis Drake was consulted, but contrary to his advice the command was given to Captain Edward Fenton, with William Hawkins as his lieutenant. The affair was disastrously mismanaged, and the only reason for referring to it here is that a son of Sir Francis Drake's uncle Robert took part in it.

Young John Drake must have been a bright, promising boy, for 'at the age of ten years he was consigned to Captain Francis Drake, his first cousin, and always remained with him, and made with him a voyage to Ireland, and afterwards, having arrived at fourteen or fifteen years, he went with him round the world and sailed in the Captain's ship, serving him as his page.' He had therefore seen something of life in many phases—at Court, in camp, and at sea—when, being between eighteen and nineteen years old, he volunteered to go with Fenton's expedition. As little more than a year had elapsed since he had been in the Straits of Magellan, his knowledge of harbours and watering places on the coasts of Brazil and Peru was expected to be of use to the company, so, notwithstanding his youth, and perhaps because his cousin, Sir Francis, subscribed handsomely towards the expenses of the enterprise, John Drake was put in command of the

*Francis*, forty tons, the smallest of the four vessels which sailed together from Southampton on February 4, 1582.

It was unfortunate for the young man that his first quasi-independent venture should have been under an incompetent commander, but that he was not pressed to go upon this voyage seems certain, for he said, when examined in the presence of the Grand Inquisitor at Lima, that 'Sir Francis had recommended two men to Fenton (experienced seamen), but that he himself had gone of his own free will.'<sup>1</sup> No doubt he would far rather have been employed under his cousin, but of that at the moment there seemed to be small prospect, for naval affairs were then almost at a standstill.

Although Drake and Hawkins were both urgent with the Queen for permission to strike another blow at her enemy the King of Spain, nothing would induce Elizabeth to let either of them leave the country. She was in one of her temporising moods; everything was to be done by diplomacy, and, till the wind blew from another quarter, her seamen might possess their souls in patience and could attend to their own concerns.

In the summer of 1582 Sir Francis purchased part of the manor of Yarcombe from Richard Drake, a younger brother of Bernard Drake of Ash. He and Richard were very close friends. As far as we know, they were but distantly connected, but they styled each other cousins, and were to the end of their lives on intimate and affectionate terms. Richard became equerry to the Queen, an appointment he may very likely have owed to the good offices and Court influence of Sir Francis; to whom also Sir Bernard may have been somewhat indebted for the knighthood which was bestowed upon him in the year 1585, at which time he borrowed £600 of Sir Francis, on the security of his patrimonial estate of Ash, which lies not many miles from the parish of Yarcombe.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, p. 396.

The manor of Yarcombe had formerly been an appanage of the Monastery of Zion in Middlesex, and a moiety of it had been granted by the Crown to Robert, Earl of Leicester, who not long afterwards sold his rights therein to Richard Drake. In 1582 the latter was in want of money, apparently to meet the expenses of taking up his new appointment, and he conveyed his moiety of the manor of Yarcombe to Sir Francis Drake, who in the meantime had obtained a grant from the Crown of the other half. Two years later, Richard bought for himself the house and the manor of Esher, which in Queen Mary's time had belonged to the see of Winchester,<sup>1</sup> and thenceforth he was known as Richard Drake of Esher, to distinguish him from his namesake, a wealthy owner of tin mines, resident at Tavistock.

There is reason to think that Richard afterwards regretted having severed his connexion with Devonshire, and that if he had been able to pay for the purchase, Sir Francis would, out of friendship, have allowed him to reacquire the manor of Yarcombe, together with the additions he himself had made to it.

Richard married a daughter of Sir William Stafford, and by her had an only son, named after his godfather, Sir Francis Drake, who had an affection for the boy, and remembered him in his will.

Towards the close of the year when Sir Francis's uneventful mayoralty<sup>2</sup> had come to an end, he was at Court again, and he did not forget his accustomed New Year's gift to the Queen. This time it was a piece of plate of allegorical design, 'a sault of gold like a globe, standing upon two naked men, being

<sup>1</sup> The manor of Esher, after passing through many hands, is now again Crown property.

<sup>2</sup> Only two orders of Sir Francis's are noted in the books of the corporation, but both are characteristic of the man. One was that they should wear their red cloaks on certain ceremonial occasions, the other was that a compass should be set up on the Hoe.



the historie of Jupiter and Pallas, with a woman on the top thereof with a trumpet in her hand; the foot enamelled with flowers.' It was no doubt the work of one of the famous sculptor goldsmiths of the day, and it may have been intended as a centrepiece for the royal table.

The salt-cellar of the sixteenth century were usually important pieces of plate, and frequently contained a receptacle for pepper as well. The elaborate one presented by Sir Francis was quite in accordance with the taste of the age, for Benvenuto Cellini tells us of a somewhat similar, though more magnificent salt-cellar which he made for the Cardinal of Ferrara, and by his description of it we may gather that the present of such an article in those days was by no means the elegant trifle we might now suppose.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1583 opened sorrowfully for Sir Francis; whilst the winter snows were still on the ground his wife died. Her interment is thus recorded in the parish register of St. Budeaux's Church, near Plymouth. 'Buried January 25th the Lady Marie Drake, wife of Sir Francis Drake, Knight.' No age or particulars are mentioned. She vanishes from sight without another word, and no more is heard of her; but the continued tender regard of Sir Francis for her memory is evinced by his lifelong care of Jonas Bodenham, who is

<sup>1</sup> 'Upon an oval almost two thirds of a cubit in size, I made two figures about a hand high, in a sitting posture . . . and in the hand of the male figure representing the Ocean, I put a ship contrived with great art, in which was deposited a large quantity of salt; under this I represented four sea horses. And in the right hand of the Ocean I put his trident. The earth I represented by a female figure leaning with one hand against a grand and magnificent temple; this was to hold the pepper. In the other hand I put a cornucopia adorned with all the embellishments I could think of. To complete the idea in that part which appeared to be the earth, I represented all the most beautiful animals which that element produces; in the parts which stood for the sea I designed the finest sorts of fish and shells which so small a piece was capable of containing.' 'The animals, the sea and the rocks were all partly enamelled, and the whole was mounted on an ebony base which received still further embellishment.'—*Life of Benvenuto Cellini*.

believed to have been her nephew.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of documentary proofs, the relationship cannot be positively established, but everything leads to the conclusion that Jonas was a younger son of one John Bodenham, who married Margaret Newman, in the year 1561, at St. Budeaux's, Plymouth, the same church where Francis Drake, in 1569, was united to Mary Newman, presumably her sister. Margaret and her husband had a son named Zacchary, and then would appear to have left the district, for there is no entry in the registers of the baptism of Jonas or of the burial of his parents. He must have lost his father when he was a baby, for an old deed tells us that 'in his infancy he was left without any relief or maintenance' other than that which was afforded to him by the kindness of Sir Francis Drake, who brought him up to be in his own service, made him his agent and receiver, and eventually provided for him by his will; but at the time of which we are writing, when Lady Drake died, Jonas was still quite a boy.

Somewhat later in the year 1583 Sir Francis was selected to be a member of the Commission which was appointed to make arrangements for the efficient maintenance of the Queen's Navy upon a peace footing, and most likely it was whilst he was in town, engaged in this, to him, singularly uncongenial work, that the *Edward Bonaventure* arrived at Plymouth. She was one of the four ships which had taken part in Fenton's expedition, and Sir Francis must have been dismayed to find that none of her company knew what had become of young John Drake or his little ship, the *Francis*.

An account of Fenton's voyage, written by Captain Luke

<sup>1</sup> On the father's side Jonas would seem to have belonged to Hereford, of which county Roger Bodenham was Sheriff in 1585 and again in 1593. A Roger Bodenham commanded the *Anchor* in a Mediterranean voyage in 1551, settled in Seville, married there, made a voyage to Mexico in 1556, and was still living at San Lucar in 1580. *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, p. 229. Published by the Navy Record Society.

Ward of the *Edward Bonaventure*, may be found in Hackluyt's Collections. He alludes to John Drake incidentally as coming aboard his ship off Sierra Leone, on a Sunday, 'with others to hear the sermon and dined with me. After dinner we went on shoare to the lower point where we followed the footeing of an elephant, but saw him not, and so spent the time to and fro till supper time, and then came aboarde and supped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.' But the meal had an unfortunate sequel, for that night they were 'all very sicke with eating the fruite of the country, which they found on the trees like nuts.'

Again, on a subsequent occasion, John Drake is mentioned as calling 'in company with Master Maddox and others to take their leave of Master Walker [one of the preachers who had gone with the expedition] supposing him to be past hope of recoverie,' as indeed he well might be, if, like most of his shipmates, he had made experiment of every strange fruit and fish thrown by chance in his way. Captain Ward records that at one place they 'slewe a fish in whose nose was a bone two feet long like a sword; the bodie we did eat and it was like a sharke.' Another day he says, 'the *Francis*' cooke came abourde about seven o'clock in the forenoon from fishing with my net, and brought among other fish a sea-calfe as we called it, with haire and lymplets and barnacles upon him, being seven foot long and four foot nine inches about; which I sent to the General and such as pleased to come and see it; who came and most part of his companie, when having viewed the beast which was ougly being alive . . . it proved excellent faire and good meate, broiled, roasted, sodd and baked, and sufficed for all our companie for that day.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Elizabethan mariners were very curious in their 'dyett'; Sir Francis Drake, we know, drew the line at otter, and even then he owned himself to be wrong; however, he made other culinary experiments, as we are told by the famous Dr. Muffet in his *Health's Improvement* (2nd edition, p. 154), where he says 'the sea kite or flying-swallow [fish] resemble much the flying herrings so



Such dainties, however, were rare, and the ships were so insufficiently victualled that a council was held at which John Drake assisted. The commanders were to decide whether they would go forward to the Straits of Magellan, or make for some port where they might obtain provisions. But the captains could not agree, and the question was still an open one when each returned to his vessel. Very soon afterwards—being near the entrance of the River Plate—they missed the *Francis* and, not meeting with her again, supposed she must have been cast away, a conclusion in which Sir Francis must gradually have felt compelled to acquiesce, as seasons came and went and still nothing was heard of young John Drake.

In the beginning of the year 1585 happier thoughts were uppermost in Sir Francis's mind. Mention has been made in the early pages of this book of a friend of the Drake family, John Fitz, who owned the estate of Fitzford in the parish of Tavistock (near Edmund Drake's old home) as well as a house at Lewisham. He was now dead, and his property had descended to his son, another John Fitz, whose wife, Mary, was sister of Sir George Sydenham of Coombe Sydenham in Somersetshire.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Fitz had a handsome young niece, Elizabeth, Sir George Sydenham's only daughter and heiress, to whom Sir Francis Drake paid his addresses. Tradition says that she was at one time a maid of honour or in some way in

plentiful in the West Indies. . . . Sir Francis Drake, whom thankful posterity will ever esteem, did first shew me one of them dead, and I think he was one of the first of our nation that did ever eate them; they are of a good taste, tender flesh, but somewhat agueish, after the nature of fresh herrings.'

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Sydenham was the second son of Sir John Sydenham of Brympton and Coombe Sydenham, Somersetshire, by his wife Ursula Bridges, sister of Lord Chandos. They had five children: John, who inherited the Brympton estate and married Grace, daughter of Sir William Godolphin of Godolphin, Cornwall; George, who had the Coombe Sydenham property and married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Christopher Hales, Kt., by whom he had an only daughter who married Sir Francis Drake; Mary, who married John Fitz of Fitzford; Anne, who married her cousin, Alexander Sydenham of Luxborough; and Elizabeth, who married Richard Bamfield of Poltimore.

waiting on Queen Elizabeth. She may have been so, but there is no authority for the statement, nor any indication of its truth, unless the possession in the family of a petticoat of the Queen's may be considered as confirmatory evidence.<sup>1</sup> If Elizabeth Sydenham had any Court appointment, it would have given her frequent opportunities of meeting Sir Francis before their marriage, which is believed to have taken place either in London or at the little church of Monksilver, in the first week of February 1585.

On February 9—in all probability the day after the wedding—the marriage settlements were signed. The covenant is between Sir George Sydenham and Sir Francis Drake, who agrees, 'on account of a marriage already had and solemnised between himself and Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir George Sydenham, and for the advancement in living of the said Elizabeth,' to make over his manors of Yarcombe, Sherford, and Samford Spiney, together with his mansion house at Buckland and all the appurtenances thereof whatsoever, to Anthony Rouse of Halton in Cornwall, and William Strode of Newnham in Devonshire,<sup>2</sup> 'to the use and profit of the aforesaid Francis Drake and the Lady Elizabeth his wife and the heirs and assigns of the aforesaid Francis for ever.'

<sup>1</sup> Sir Trayton Drake presented this petticoat to the United Service Museum, notwithstanding that he had really no right to do so, it being one of the family heirlooms. It is of fine linen, embroidered in silks with a design of birds and flowers. It is exhibited in a glass case and is in excellent condition.

<sup>2</sup> The trustees were brothers-in-law, each having married a daughter of Thomas Southcote of Bovey Tracey; they were Sir Francis's closest friends and both lived to be knighted.

Anthony Rouse was twice Sheriff of Cornwall in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and member of Parliament for East Looe in the first year of King James. After the death of Elizabeth Southcote, he married Phillippa, widow of Alexander Pym of Brymore, mother of the great and celebrated John Pym. His third wife was Susan, widow of John Copplestone of Warleigh. Halton is situated upon the Tamar, not very far above Pentillie.

Sir William Strode of Newnham, in the parish of Plympton St. Mary, where 'he was richly and fairly seated,' was a person 'of great honour, wealth and esteem in his own county.'

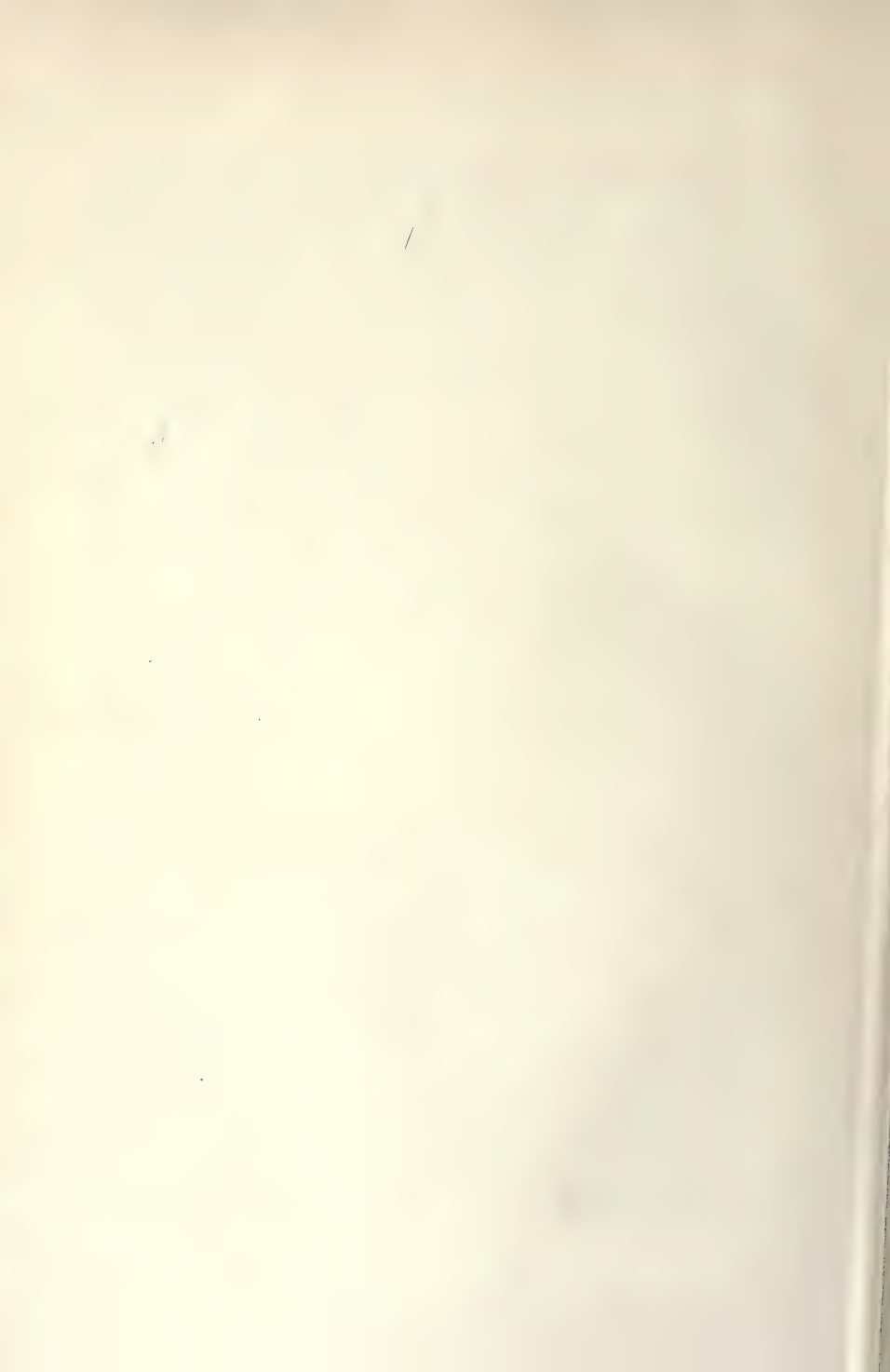


ELIZABETH, LADY DRAKE  
(daughter of Sir George Sydenham)

WIFE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

*From a painting in the possession of Colonel Heathcote.*





In those days, the richer the bride the more favourable were the settlements made upon her, which was only reasonable in such a case as this, for if Sir Francis had survived his wife, Coombe Sydenham would have become his property. It is difficult to picture to ourselves what this once stately Elizabethan mansion looked like in the days of its glory, so greatly has it been altered and reduced by time, frequent changes of ownership, and the recklessness of past generations. Originally the house had two or three towers, now there is but one, and that has not merely been heightened, but further disfigured by the insertion of modern windows.

Of the ancient front nothing is left but the projecting porch and room over it. Above the door is the inscription,<sup>1</sup>

Porta patebo Tuis semper, Generose Georgi,  
Ingratis animis janua clausa patens,

and the date 1528, surmounted by a boldly carved coat-of-arms. This entrance and the arched gateway of uncommon design and graceful proportions are probably the only unaltered remains of Sir George Sydenham's house. At one side there are some fine old Tudor windows battened up, and near to them a dark place, now used for casks and lumber, is shown as the site of the domestic chapel. In the interior some of the rooms may still retain their original proportions, especially a very lofty one which is adorned with ancient tapestry. The hall is probably lower and smaller than it was, and, as the front of the building has been modernised, the mullioned windows which lighted it are gone. The best part of the house has been pulled down; yet, although Coombe Sydenham has fallen from its high estate, there is still much charm about this curious old place, and nothing has happened to spoil the beauty of the surrounding country. The house is situated towards the end of a deep valley among the Brendon

<sup>1</sup> 'I the gate shall always be open to you and yours, O noble George, exposing a shut door to uncongenial spirits.'

Hills ; it is sheltered on three sides by hanging woods ; the park is stocked with deer, red and fallow, and five beautiful ponds in a chain one above another provide the owner with fish for pleasure and profit.

In summer and autumn Elizabeth Sydenham's home must have been most delightful, but in the month of February no long dalliance in the country could have been desired by the newly wedded pair, more especially as Sir Francis was now member of Parliament for Bossiney (otherwise Tintagel), in Cornwall, and month by month the political horizon was growing darker and darker, till at last came the lightning flash which aroused the Queen from her dreams of diplomatic arrangements.

King Philip had treacherously seized a fleet of English ships which had gone to Cadiz at his own special invitation, laden with corn for his famine-stricken provinces ; he had thrown the crews into dungeons and had taken possession of the grain, to aid in victualling the mighty fleet he was gradually building and collecting at Cadiz, in preparation for his intended invasion of England.

A mission to free his countrymen, or to avenge them and to deal a crushing blow at the power of Spain, was the most pleasurable duty on which any of Queen Elizabeth's captains could have been employed, but none could accomplish it so effectively as Sir Francis Drake. Thus, after five years' waiting, his hour came, and he was again in command of a fleet, setting out for Spain and the Indies.

This time his designs had the entire approval of Burleigh, who had hitherto been opposed to the privateering raids on the Spanish colonies which the Queen encouraged. He was fully as determined as was his Sovereign that England should not acknowledge either the validity of the Papal decree which gave the New World to Spain, or Philip's right to prevent Protestants from trading there—which assumption,



coupled with the barbarous cruelties practised by the Inquisition on Englishmen, was the reason as well as the justification for the war that Drake and others had no scruple in making on Spanish ships and settlements. But Burleigh would have preferred to see Philip's pretensions humbled by the liberation of the Low Countries rather than by attacks on the gold fleets, a course which appeared to him to savour somewhat of piracy. Now, however, he was as keen as Drake himself, and only afraid that the Queen might have time to change her mind before Sir Francis was beyond reach of recall.

Owing to various difficulties the ships did not get away until the second week in September, although Drake had hoped and expected to be gone two months earlier. Upon the very eve of his departure he was further embarrassed and delayed by the arrival at Plymouth of Sir Philip Sydney, who—unknown to the Queen—wished to take part in the enterprise, and Drake had to use some stratagem to free himself from the dilemma without offending either his royal mistress or his friend.

The history of the San Domingo and Carthagena voyage, as it is called, will not be found in these pages, it having been sufficiently told elsewhere; but it is right here to allude to a legend concerning Lady Drake which can only have reference to this time in her life. Sir Francis was not really very long absent, yet it is said that she got tired of waiting year after year for news of her husband, and that at last she engaged herself to a suitor whose name is not disclosed. When, however, the appointed wedding day arrived, and she was on her way to church to be married, a great stone from the sky fell upon her train, and stopped her just in time. It was a message from Drake, she said, to reprove her for her faithlessness. The stone in question is still preserved at Coombe Sydenham, where it is an object of great veneration and respect. It looks like a mighty cannon ball, which is

probably what it originally was, and how such a legend can have grown up about it, it is impossible to imagine, for during the whole of the voyage, which was the longest in point of time that Drake made after his second marriage, the ministers, and therefore presumably his wife, were never more than five months without news of him. Altogether, his absence lasted only from September 1585 until the following July, and setting wonders aside, we can scarcely believe that he would have written as he did two years later of 'the singular trust and confidence' he had in his wife, if immediately he was out of sight she had been as inconstant and flighty as the legend describes.

The San Domingo and Carthagena voyage, which was shortened owing to ague and fever, of which many of the company died, was in all other respects an immense success.<sup>1</sup> Philip and the Catholic potentates were thoroughly frightened, and for the first time England began to be looked on as a possibly aggressive power. Immense damage had been done to Spain, not merely by the destruction of Spanish shipping and the capture of San Domingo and Carthagena, together with a large quantity of ordnance, but by the feeling of insecurity thus engendered, which undermined Spanish credit and almost reduced that country to bankruptcy. 'For now the Dukes of Florence and Savoy, and the Genoese merchants that were wont to furnish Philip with money in time of necessity, began to draw back,' and well might Lord Burleigh exclaim that 'Sir Francis Drake was a dreadful man to the King of Spain.' Englishmen were proud

<sup>1</sup> A far larger number of men died from these causes than were killed by the enemy; amongst those who thus lost their lives we notice several familiar Devonshire names, Captain Fortescue, Captain Grenville (a son of Sir Francis's old friend Sir Bevil), Master Escot and Master Duke.

The preparations for this voyage had been made more expensively than usual, but the dividend paid to the adventurers was at the rate of fifteen shillings in the pound. See *Chancery Pro., Drake v. Drake*, 1604.

of their hero,<sup>1</sup> and the Queen was so well pleased that she ordered his promotion to the rank of Admiral, whilst almost in the same breath—such was the tortuousness of her policy—she was disavowing him to King Philip, who pretended to believe her.

The return of Drake had been anxiously watched for, as fears were entertained of immediate Spanish invasion, and all the early part of the autumn he and Sir William Winter were kept conveniently near, cruising in the Narrow Seas; but towards the end of October, when the panic had somewhat abated, Sir Francis was sent to the Low Countries on a secret mission, the object of which was to arrange for a joint expedition of Dutch and English ships against the Spanish-American colonies. He was received with all honour, and would have brought his negotiations to a successful issue, if the Queen could have been persuaded to support the States honestly in their struggle for freedom.

An extremely interesting reminder of his visit to Holland is a little pocket map of the world, described by Purchas as ‘a ployt of Drake’s Voyage cut in silver by a Dutchman, Michael Mercator.’ Four of these silver medals still exist. Sir Francis’s own one, now at Nutwell, is in its original black shagreen case—not shabby exactly, but worn a little, as it might be from having been carried in his pocket; another is in the possession of Sir John Evans, President of the Royal Numismatic Society; and two more are at the British Museum. Sir John Evans inclines to the opinion that these medals were struck soon after Sir Francis’s return from circumnavigating the globe, and it is of course possible that

<sup>1</sup> A small illustration of this is the following note, taken from the Records of the Middle Temple :

‘Thursday, August the 4th, 1586. Sir Francis Drake, one of the Society of the Middle Temple, after his voyage came into the Middle Temple Hall at dinner time and acknowledged to the Masters of the Bench (named) his old friendship with the Society, those present congratulating him on his happy return with great joy.’



he may have gone to Holland upon more than one occasion, but, all things considered, it seems most likely that as in 1586 he had a large map of his voyage drawn out by Michael Mercator—to hang in the Queen's gallery at Whitehall—he at the same time gave instructions for the little silver plaquettes to be made as presents for his friends.

Towards the end of December, about which time Sir Francis returned to London, a general feeling of insecurity prevailed. Men's minds were full of the Babbington plot to murder the Queen, and apprehension deepened after February 8, 1587, when Mary Queen of Scots was executed, sending word to Philip, as her last request, that he would persevere with his plans for the invasion of England. His great Armada lay in Cadiz harbour, and it was all but ready.

Again the Queen's most trusted advisers warned her that there was no time to lose ; something should be done at once to stop the Spanish fleet from sailing. For the moment she was convinced, and on March 15, 1587, Drake collected his squadron. It consisted of thirty ships, of which only six belonged to the Crown, the remainder being the property of merchant adventurers. On April 2 they got away from Plymouth, evading by just a few hours the messenger who arrived from the Court with orders to delay the expedition ; and on March 19 they entered Cadiz harbour and began in grim earnest ' to singe the King of Spain's beard.'

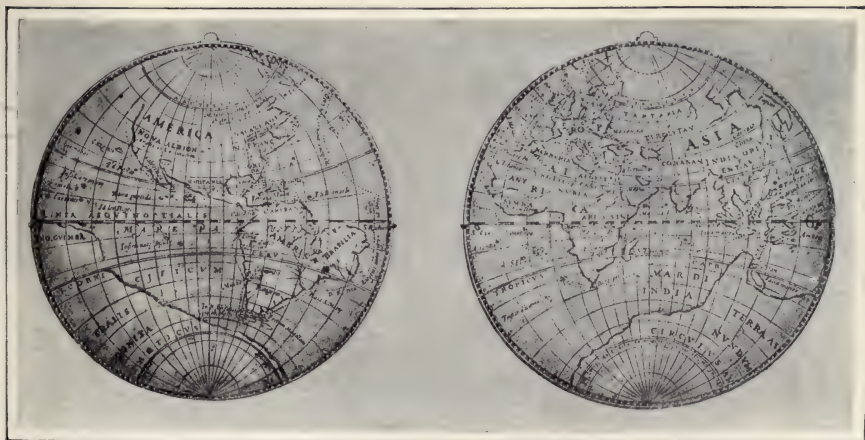
The history of this affair has been most fully and interestingly told by other writers, and need not be repeated here. That Drake himself regarded the operations at Cadiz as merely the commencement of what he wanted to do is manifest from one of his letters to Walsingham, dated May 17, 1587.

There must be a beginning of any great matter, but the continuing unto the end until it be thoroughly finished yields the true glory. If Hannibal had followed his victories, it is thought by many he had never been taken by Scipio. God



### DRAKE'S SHIP THE "GOLDEN HIND"

From a map, "Civitas Carthagena," in the volume "Expediitio Francisci Draki Equitis Angli in Indias Occidentales A. MDLXXXV." Published in Leyden, in 1588



### SILVER MAP MADE FOR SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Commemorating his voyage around the world. The faint dotted line shows the course sailed by him in the *Golden Hind*.





make us all thankful again and again that we have, although it be but little, made a beginning upon the coast of Spain. If we believe that this which we do is in the defence of our religion and country, no doubt but our merciful God for his Christ our Saviour's sake is able and will give us victory although our sins be red. . . . Let me be pardoned of your honour again and again for my overmuch boldness, it is the confession of my own conscience.

But continuing to the end until a matter was thoroughly finished was just the point where those who served Queen Elizabeth found themselves most frequently baffled.

The Queen thought that enough had been done, and Drake was not permitted to complete at Lisbon the work he had begun at Cadiz. He therefore turned his attention to the gold fleet which was on its way back from the East, and 'though his victuals grew scarce and his company importuned his return home, yet with gentle speeches he persuaded, and so much prevailed, as they were willing to attend their expected home certain days, and drawing near to the Island of St. Michael' on June 9 he was fortunate enough to fall in with and capture the great carrack, the *San Phelippe*, the richest single prize that ever had or has been taken and safely brought to England. Her cargo is stated to have been worth £108,149, a prodigiously large sum as compared with our present rate of currency.

With such results to show of his ability, Drake asked confidently for reinforcements, to enable him to follow up his success and utterly annihilate the Armada King Philip was preparing. But he did not have his usual good fortune in arriving home at a happy moment. The Queen was trying to persuade herself and Europe that she was not responsible for the decapitation of the Queen of Scots, and that she was grieved to the heart by the occurrence. She was displeased with everyone, even with Burleigh, and Drake like the rest had to suffer for her uncertain humour.

Although his request was heartily supported by Burleigh and Walsingham, it fell on deaf ears ; Elizabeth was absorbed in the manifestation of her fictitious sorrow. She was even inclined to patch up her quarrel with Philip, by disavowing the most brilliant naval action of her reign ; but she never wavered in her determination to keep possession of the great carrack.

Her own share of the spoil amounted to £45,000, and, in addition to this, Sir Francis delivered to her a small casket 'garnished with gold' which was found on board the *San Phelippe*. The contents of the box show the sumptuous fashions of the day, spoons and forks of gold are mentioned, and handles of the same metal for knives. The personal ornaments included a collar of SS. and divers gold chains, adorned either with crosses of jewels or else with tablets (loquets) containing pictures of Christ and our Lady, three bracelets 'eiche with a crosse of sundry fashion,' pomanders, heads and rings of gold for staves, a girdle of crystal garnished with gold, perfumes, unset stones, and pendants for the ears. Evidently it was the jewel box of some great hidalgo who combined pomp with piety in true Spanish style.

It is characteristic of Sir Francis that during this voyage he had been careful never to miss an opportunity of rescuing English prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the enemy. A letter of his to Walsingham describes how he inquired of the Marquis de Santa Cruz at Cadiz, and of all the Governors wherever he conveniently could, to know if they would deliver up the Englishmen they had in prison and at the galleys, in exchange for some of Philip's own subjects which 'he had some few of' ; but one and all made excuse, being afraid to give them up without orders from the King 'and his persecuting clergy.' This so incensed Drake and the captains under his command, that they solemnly agreed to sell all their Spanish prisoners to the Moors, and to use the money for ransoming any Englishmen who might be in captivity.

Sir Francis must often have thought of his quondam page and cousin, young John Drake, though with but little hope of hearing of him again. This year, however, he did get news. On September 29, 1587, two ships belonging to the Earl of Cumberland arrived in England from a voyage to the Brazils. They had captured a vessel with a Portuguese pilot on board, Juan Perez, from whom they learned that John Drake's barque had been cast away on some rocks a little short of the River Plate, and that he and his companions had been taken prisoners by the savages, who used them very hardly, but John Drake, Richard Fairweather and another had escaped in a canoe to the first town of the Spaniards; since which time Richard Fairweather had married and was residing in one of the towns. The pilot, who could have told them a good deal more if he had chosen, also said that John Drake was living, and during the previous twelvemonth had been in the same ship with himself, going from Buenos Ayres to Tucuman. A glance at the map will show that the River Plate, which becomes the Parana, is not navigable higher up than Santa Fé; only thus far could the pilot and John Drake have travelled together. At this point the passengers and cargo were discharged into small boats and barges, and John Drake was taken not to Tucuman, but to the town of Assumption, as appeared by a more detailed account which arrived shortly after the first, by means of another pilot, named Lopes Vaz.

This man said that the barque *Francis* had been wrecked near Seale Island, close to where the Earl of Cumberland's ships had watered, that the whole crew of eighteen persons had been saved in the boats, and that after a ten days' journey by land they had met with savages, who fought with them, killed some of their number, and captured the survivors. The Englishmen were slaves to the savages for about fifteen



months, during which time many of them died of ill-treatment.

But the master of the pinnace [Richard Fairweather] being loth any longer to endure the miserie wherein he was, and having knowledge of a town<sup>1</sup> of Christians on the other side of the river, called on a night John Drake and another man which was with them, and took a canoe, being very little and having but two oares, and passed therewith on to the other side of the river, which is full nine leagues broad; and being three days before they could get over they were much pinched for lack of meate, but coming to land they hit upon a way that led towards the Christians, and spying the footeing of horses they followed it, and at last came to a house near unto which there was corne sowed. And there they met with Indians that were servants to the Spaniards, who gave them food and clothes to cover them withal, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the town and carried the newes of the Englishmen; wherefore the Captaine of the towne sent out horsemen and brought them to the towne behind them, and the captaine clothed them and provided lodging for them, and John Drake sat at the Captaine's own table and he entreated them all very well, thinking to have sent them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes sent for them, and they sent him John Drake, but the other two they kept because they were married in the country.

Portentous words these to such as knew how little mercy a prisoner had to expect from the 'Spanish Christians.' That the Inquisitors at Lima had John Drake in their clutches his friends must have understood; but whether—through the help of foreign merchants—they ever contrived to get into communication with him, or whether during his lifetime they received any fuller account of his miserable fate, we cannot tell. It is only of late years that some documents have been discovered at Simancas, which enable us to trace his story a

<sup>1</sup> Buenos Ayres.

little further. One <sup>1</sup> is his Deposition, made at Santa Fé, March 24, 1584; the other <sup>2</sup> is the record of his examination before the Secret Tribunal of the Inquisition, upon his arrival at Lima, two years and nine months later.

It appears that upon the first coming of the Englishmen to Buenos Ayres all went well. John Drake remained for twenty days a guest in the house of Don Ximenes, who was most kind to him, and, had a ship then been sailing for Europe, he and his companions might have peaceably departed notwithstanding their religion. This the charitable Don Ximenes could have safely permitted, because, as there was no tribunal of the Holy Office nearer than Lima, the Inquisitor, unwilling to bear the immense expense of fetching prisoners 700 leagues across the continent of America, had ordered that persons upon whom no sequestration could be levied were not to be arrested if they could be trusted to keep their opinions to themselves. With these Englishmen no difficulty about this had arisen, for they conformed or appeared to conform. Nevertheless, 'John Drake, being afraid, did not make known that he was cousin to Sir Francis Drake but only said that he was a soldier.'

It chanced, however, most inopportunately, that whilst he was still at Buenos Ayres a ship from Brazil arrived, in which was Juan Perez, the pilot who had been taken prisoner a year before by Drake and liberated. Perez recognised John Drake, and so did some of the friars who had been on the same ship, and all declared that he was nephew to Sir Francis Drake. This was sufficiently unlucky, but the climax of misfortune was reached when a captain of the district, Alonso de Vera, coming to Buenos Ayres on his own affairs, heard about these men and, perceiving that they were of more consequence than ordinary castaways, forthwith took them

<sup>1</sup> T. 26, D. 18. Collection Navarrete at Madrid. Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> T. 26, D. 22. Collection Navarrete at Madrid. Appendix II.

into custody on behalf of the Governor of the province of Paraguay, General Juan de Torres, then stationed at Assumption, several hundred miles up the country.

Thus it happened that John Drake found himself in the same ship with the Portuguese pilot, and that upon their arrival at Santa Fé, *en route* for Assumption, Perez was required to act as interpreter when Alonso de Vera sent for a scribe and took the deposition of his prisoners for the information of the Viceroy.<sup>1</sup> If the document was sent on *viâ* Tucuman to Lima, it might have reached there in about seven weeks. And this is probably what occurred, for we know that the Viceroy, anxious to learn what designs the English might have upon the coast, commanded that John Drake and Richard Fairweather should be sent to him forthwith, but that, owing to distance and delay in communication, long before his orders could reach General de Torres, the Inquisition had claimed and taken possession of the Englishmen as heretic foreigners, and therefore belonging to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office.

In Peru there was a perpetual antagonism between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and now, as an illustration of the supremacy of the Church, the Inquisitor at Lima refused either to bring up the prisoners or to permit them to be examined for the benefit of the Viceroy. The latter insisted; the Inquisitors were stubborn; and the quarrel becoming public and irreconcilable, the matter had to be referred to Madrid, in order that the King might decide whether the right to interrogate these Englishmen lay with his own representative, the Conde del Villar, or with the Chief Inquisitor, Don Gutierrez de Ulloa. As despatches went to Spain no oftener than once in six months, the answer was not expected to arrive until well on in the following year.

Meanwhile, the three prisoners remained at Assumption,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.



whence there could be no chance of escape, for they were hundreds of miles from the coast and could not speak Spanish. Upon their first arrival, in the absence of the Bishop, Friar Francisco Torres, the Ecclesiastical Administrator, had very promptly asserted the authority of the Church.

He ordered that no one should speak to John Drake nor to the other Englishmen until he had conferred with them himself; and he took their confession, inquiring the articles of their faith, and whether they believed all that pertained to and was commanded by our Holy Mother the Church of Rome? And they answered Yea, and he gave them permission to hear mass.<sup>1</sup> But the people exclaimed that this could not be, as one of them had come with Captain Francis, and the Administrator placed John Drake and Richard Fairweather in a hermitage, ordering him to speak to no one except to the hermit, who was a native of Segovia—named Juan de Espinosa—and to an Englishman who served the hermitage and was one of the conquistadores of Paraguay. In this way they remained in the hermitage for more than a year, though Richard went out sometimes to work at a ship which the General was having built. But John Drake communicated only with the hermit and with the Englishman whose name was Juan de Rute [Drewitt?] who had been forty years in the land and could not speak English.

From these recluses John Drake learned the language of the country, and they also taught him to say in Spanish the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ave Maria, the Salve Regina, and all the formulas of the Roman Catholic religion necessary for him to know if he were not prepared to suffer martyrdom. It does not appear that labour was exacted from him, although it was from Fairweather and from Thomas. These two being less closely secluded, quickly married native wives to set a seal

<sup>1</sup> This indulgence was probably not granted from motives of charity, but because it implied a certain degree of liberty, and therewith the possibility of compelling the men to earn something towards their own support, for neither the Crown nor the Inquisition cared to be burdened with destitute prisoners.

upon their conversions and escape from further persecution.<sup>1</sup> When, therefore, some time in July or August 1586, orders came that the prisoners were to go up to the Viceroy, the Ecclesiastical Administrator and the General kept the two who could be useful to them, and sent only John Drake.

From this time we lose sight of him for many months. We know that he was still in the grip of the Inquisition when he arrived at Potosi, where he was eventually joined by Richard Fairweather, and that these two (Thomas having died in the interval) were detained by the Holy Office until the Inquisitors, sure of their triumph over the Viceroy, chose to send them to Arica, from which port, after a three weeks' journey by sea, they reached Lima, in the first week of January 1587.

Then, indeed, the captives must have realised how true is the saying that 'it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive.' They were marched from the ship in irons as though they had been malefactors of the worst type, and cast into solitary dungeons, uncertain whether they were to be left there days or years, and in hourly expectation of being tormented and tortured. However, at the end of five days, on Thursday, January 8, 'the Inquisitor Licentiate Antonio Gutierrez de Ulloa, sitting in his Court in the morning, ordered John Drake to be brought to it from the secret prisons of the Holy Office. And he appeared' and being duly sworn deposed that 'he was twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, holding no other employment than that which he had exercised when going to sea with his first cousin, Captain Francis Drake, an Englishman, and that people generally call him a nephew of the said Captain Francis.'

<sup>1</sup> It was a frequent device of the Inquisitors, when dealing with English prisoners of the commoner sort, by whose services they hoped to make some profit, to try and compel them to marry negro or Indian women, as the connexion rendered it still more difficult to escape. See Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 482.

‘ He declared his genealogy in the following form.’

**FATHER AND MOTHER:** Robert and Anna Drake, natives of Tavistock; that his father was dead, that he left his mother alive, and that his father was a gentleman (cavalero) and lived on his farm in the said place.

**PATERNAL GRANDPARENTS:** John Drake, and his grandmother Margery, both dead, but they lived a mile from Tavistock and also lived on their farm and that they were well born (*gente noble*).

**MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS:** Luxmore, and that he does not remember the name of his grandmother, who died when he was a child, and that his said grandfather was also dead, and they were natives of Tavistock or of that neighbourhood.

**UNCLES, BROTHERS OF HIS FATHER:** John Drake and another John Drake and Edmond Drake; and the younger of the said John Drakes is alive and the others are dead, and that they were married, and the said Captain Francis Drake is the son of the said Edmond, and that he, the deponent, has two or three aunts, and that he does not remember their names beyond that one of them was called Anna<sup>1</sup> and that they are dead, and that the said Captain Francis Drake has another brother who always accompanies him, named Thomas Drake, who must be about thirty years of age and is unmarried, and that the said Captain Francis Drake is married in London to a lady named Mary, and that they live in a house belonging to them called Buckland, a little more than two leagues from Plymouth, and that he understands that the said Mary is a native of London and that they have no children and they have been married for more than seventeen years.

**UNCLES AND BROTHERS OF HIS MOTHER.** Peter Luxmore, who is dead and was never married and that he died when a soldier in Ireland.

**HIS OWN BROTHERS AND SISTERS:** Dorothy, who was a girl when he left her, and that he had another brother and sister named John and Isabel, and that they are dead.

**WIFE AND CHILDREN:** He declared that he is not married and has no children.

<sup>1</sup> Anna Drake was probably the mother of Robert Barret, burnt in the auto, 1568.



Having thus satisfied the curiosity of the Inquisitors about his relationships—a curiosity which is fortunate for us, as it enables us to clear up authoritatively some disputed points in the Drake pedigree—John Drake was next questioned concerning his religion, his communion, &c., &c.

He was told to kneel down and make the sign of the Cross and to repeat the prayers of the Church when on his knees. He made the sign of the Cross and repeated the Paternoster and Ave Maria, Credo and Salva Regina in good vernacular Spanish, and repeated the Ten Commandments of the Law of God and the Five Commandments of our Holy Mother Church, and the Seven Sacraments, also in good vernacular Spanish, although in a halting and hesitating way and said that he did not know Latin.

Then, being interrogated as to his childhood, the prisoner said that ‘at the age of six months he was taken to the house of his grandmother Margery, and brought up there until his eighth year and that after that he remained in the house of his mother for about a year and a half.’ He said further that ‘when ten years old his cousin, Captain Francis, took him with him and that he served him as his page’ and went with him to Ireland, and that he was with him all the time of his great voyage round the world.

At the command of the Inquisitors, John Drake described the incidents of that voyage and gave some interesting details not to be found in other accounts. At mid-day he was remanded until the afternoon, when he was again brought in and told to continue the story of his life which he had been relating in the morning. He did so, and something in the simple, well-bred bearing of the young man seems to have pleased the Inquisitors, for that night, before recommitting him to his prison, ‘order was given to the Alcalde to remove the fetters which he wore when brought in a prisoner, which had not been removed. And he was commanded to keep silence in the prison and not to call out or make any noise

or shouting which could be heard outside the prison, under pain of severe punishment, and he promised accordingly.'

Next day, and on January 10, his examination was resumed, until he had finished the story of Sir Francis's circumnavigation of the globe and had told the Inquisitors about his own voyage with Fenton, his shipwreck, slavery among the Caribs, his escape, his stay at Buenos Ayres and all that came of it, down to the day when he was removed from the hermitage at Assumption and led captive towards Potosi. As from that time he had been under the close observation of familiars of the Holy Office, no more questions were put to him, and he was taken back to his prison. There for eleven months longer he lay, awaiting the judgment of the Consulta de Fede. Richard Fairweather endured similar delay and much rougher usage. Probably he was of sterner stuff than his compatriot, and resisted a change of faith, but he was tortured on the rack until he gave way.

It would seem that sentences on heretic prisoners did not begin to take effect until the next auto after their conviction, and as these celebrations were expensive, they were held at uncertain intervals, when enough victims had been collected to make an imposing show. For some reason, perhaps because Sir Francis Drake's threat of reprisals was not forgotten, John Drake appears to have been dealt with as mildly as the bigotry of the Inquisitors would permit. The record of his case says, 'he confessed that he had been a Lutheran and he seemed very penitent, and good hope was found of his conversion; sentence was passed that he should be admitted to reconciliation<sup>1</sup> in the public auto in the usual

<sup>1</sup> 'Reconciliation to the Church entailed confiscation and was usually accompanied with other penalties more or less severe according to the record of the culprit and the readiness with which he had recanted as indicative of the sincerity of his conversion. There might be prison and sanbenito for a term or for life, scourging or the galleys.'—*The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, by H. C. Lea, p. 421.

manner, to wear the habit<sup>1</sup> for three years, during which time he should be secluded in a monastery, that he should not leave these realms or those of Spain, all the days of his life, and confiscation.' Richard Fairweather's punishments were severer, for he was 'condemned to reconciliation, four years of galleys and perpetual prison.' A document at Simancas says that these sentences were duly carried out. On November 30, 1589, 'John Drake walked in the auto in the usual garb of the reconciled, wore the habit for three years, and was confined in a convent with prohibition to leave the Indies under penalty of being accounted relapsed.'<sup>2</sup>

We know from the autobiography of one who was many years a captive what even the most favoured penitent had to endure.<sup>3</sup> If he were not scourged himself at the auto, he had to take part in the horrible procession and witness the tortures inflicted upon others. But afterwards, whilst in the seclusion of a monastery, he might count upon being fairly well treated, for, upon the whole, the monks were compassionate and many secretly detested the Inquisition. When the term of punishment was over and the hated sanbenito had been publicly taken off by the Inquisitor, the reconciled man might live in one of the towns, trade and grow rich.

But he was always suspected, closely watched, and perpetually tormented to marry, as an earnest that he would settle in the country and cease to think of evasion. Miles Phillips tells us how firmly he resisted 'many faire offers that were made to him of such as had great abilitie and wealth,' but John Drake being young was probably less obdurate.

<sup>1</sup> The sanbenito was a garment of yellow cotton with a red cross upon it back and front; it was worn by all the victims of the Inquisition, and when one of them had been 'relaxed,' i.e. burnt to death, or when his term of reconciliation had ended, the sanbenito he had worn was inscribed with his name and hung up in the Cathedral for all time.

<sup>2</sup> Expediente de vista de Ruiz de Prado, N. 981. Quoted by J. T. Medina in his *Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion in el Rio de la Plata*, pp. 117-119.

<sup>3</sup> Miles Phillips, Hackluyt, vol. iii.



He had a lifetime of banishment before him and not the faintest chance of escape, for ships did not sail directly from Lima to Europe, and captains of vessels trading along the coast were forbidden to carry passengers who were unprovided with a licence from the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup>

The next heard of him and Fairweather is in a letter dated Madrid, January 20, 1590. The Council of the Indies recommend the Inquisitor at Lima 'to take great care that the said Englishmen do not escape or absent themselves from there, on account of the harm they could do, knowing as they do all about the country and what is going on in it.'

Again, and for the last time, we find mention of them in a letter written on October 5, 1595, when John Drake's term of seclusion was over and he was free within the immediate vicinity of Lima. His case and that of Fairweather are quoted by the Suprema as affording the precedent to be followed, when Richard Hawkins and five other Englishmen—taken the year previously off the coast and thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition—were, by orders from Madrid, to be withdrawn from the authority of the Holy Office and transferred to the secular arm as prisoners of war. Their imprisonment was to be remitted, but like John Drake and Richard Fairweather they were not to leave Lima, because they were experienced seamen and knew too much about the navigation of the South Sea.

The Viceroy Velasco, no lover of the Inquisition, supported Richard Hawkins's request to be transferred to Spain, and whilst this was being arranged, he must for a time have been in the enjoyment of the same limited liberty permitted to John Drake, and would have been able to see and more or less freely converse with his cousin.

<sup>1</sup> *Medina*, Chile Tom, i. p. 386 n., and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, Lea, pp. 417-418.

As a prisoner of war, always in hope of exchange or ransom, Hawkins was not denied permission to send letters to England, and from the dungeon into which he was cast upon his arrival at Seville he wrote on April 1 to Queen Elizabeth, reminding her of his father's services and invoking her aid to obtain his release. This was not effected until the year 1602, but upon his return to Devonshire, if John Drake's mother was then still living, she could have had the satisfaction of hearing at first hand of her son's life in the New World, of his marriage to a Spanish wife—for we doubt not that he did marry—and of the children in whose affection he might hope to find some consolation for the change of religion forced upon him, and for his lost liberty.

In connexion with this sad story it may interest some to know that there is at the present time in Spain a patrician family named Drake del Castillo, who profess that they are of the blood of the great admiral 'El Draque.' In the direct line that cannot be, but that they are descendants of his cousin, John Drake, is, though undemonstrable, not impossible.

## CHAPTER V

IN the summer of 1587, whilst Queen Elizabeth was indulging in a sorrow more than half fictitious, and was perplexing her ablest advisers by her unwillingness to believe in the nearness and magnitude of the danger which threatened the kingdom, her navy lay unemployed, and the opportunity for defeating King Philip's designs upon this country was lost. Sir Francis Drake was deeply disappointed at the inaction imposed upon him by the Queen's short-sighted policy, but he knew the ways of his sovereign, and was not without hope that, although denied a commission to act openly in her name, he might at his own risk, as a private adventurer, be permitted to do somewhat which would tend towards the abatement of the King of Spain's high pretensions and at the same time keep that monarch busy near home.

The scheme suggested by Sir Francis was on much more ambitious lines than any of his previous exploits. His share in the *San Phelippe* prize had amounted to a great sum, and he now proposed, with the aid of a company of merchant adventurers, to use this money in fitting out a fleet and army, to be commanded by himself at sea and by his friend, Sir John Norris, on land. Portugal was to be wrested from Spain, and the pretender Don Antonio placed upon the throne.

Astonishing as it seems, Queen Elizabeth was persuaded to sanction the plan. A deposit of fifty thousand pounds was required of the two commanders, and this having been



arranged for, Sir Francis was soon busily employed at Plymouth in making ready for the enterprise. This was in the autumn, but before the end of the year everything was changed. Nemesis had as usual followed in the steps of Folly, and news came that the very thing had happened which Sir Francis Drake had predicted.

The Indies fleet had been suffered to arrive peaceably at Cadiz, and Philip, being thus again provided with ample means, was straining every nerve to make good the damage of the previous summer. It was reported that his great Armada was ready and upon the point of sailing for the invasion of England. No one thought any more then of Don Antonio's pretensions. Every man and ship was required for the defence of our own shores, and Drake with the rest threw himself heart and soul into the business of preparation; 'he stuck at no charge to further the service, and laid out great stores of men and money to souldiers and mariners to stir up their mindes.'<sup>1</sup> His stimulating call met with a ringing response, for a whole fleet of privateers, furnished by the western towns and by country gentlemen, offered to serve under their favourite admiral.

At this critical moment, Philip lost the ablest officer in his navy. The Marquis de Santa Cruz, who was to have had the supreme command of the Armada, died just when the final arrangements were to be made, consequently the invasion had to be postponed for several months, and the Queen, in her passion for economy, again began to delude herself with the belief that it would never come to pass.

I am sorry her Majesty is so careless of this most dangerous time (wrote Howard to Walsingham on April 7, 1588). I fear me much and with grief I think it, that her Majesty relieth upon a hope that will deceive her, and then it will not

<sup>1</sup> Fenner to Walsingham, *Sta. Pa. Dom.* See also Drake's Memoranda of Expenses at Nutwell Court.

be her money nor her jewels that will help, for as they will do good in time so they will help nothing for the redeeming of time being lost.

Drake wrote quite as plainly a few days later, and to the Queen herself.

The advantage of time and place in all martial actions is half a victory ; which being lost is irrecoverable. Wherefore, if your Majesty will command me away<sup>1</sup> with those ships which are here already, and the rest to follow with all possible expedition, I hold it in my poor opinion the best and surest course ; and that they bring with them victuals sufficient for themselves and us, to the intent that the service may not be utterly lost for the want thereof. I most humbly beseech your excellent Majesty to have such consideration as the weightiness of the cause requireth, for an Englishman being far from his own country and seeing a present want of victuals to ensue, and perceiving no benefit to be looked for but only blows, will hardly be brought to stay.

I have order but for two months victuals, beginning the 24th of April, whereof one whole month may be spent before we come there ; the other month's victual will be thought with the least to bring us back again. Here may the whole service and honour be lost for the sparing of a few crowns.

It was perhaps in response to this and other such letters that, towards the end of the month or early in May, Sir Francis was 'sent for to the Court by order of her Majesty and the Lords of the Council.'<sup>2</sup> Whilst he was in London, his 'faithful and loving friends,' Captains Fenner and Crosse, wrote to apprise him of the arrival of the ships from Bristol and the West parts with Sir Richard Grenville. In the confident belief that Drake's plain speaking must prevail, and that in the shortest possible time the flag of St. George would be flying beyond Cape Finisterre, the captains made haste to assure their Admiral of the 'especial good care they

<sup>1</sup> To the coast of Spain to destroy the Armada as the ships came out of port.

<sup>2</sup> Drake's Memoranda of Expenses.

would have to all things in his absence, that the mariners should be kept aboard and the soldiers in as great readiness as might be.' And the letter finished with loyal and affectionate messages, showing their own warm regard and the eagerness of the privateer captains to be employed in the service. 'We do most humbly commend ourselves unto you, wishing you honour and happiness in all your actions. All in general do greatly desire your return and in great love many of the Captains and gentlemen commend themselves to your favour.'

Delays, however, were not yet done with. Orders and counter-orders continued to perplex the admirals, and although Drake had been since January in command of the *Revenge* at Plymouth, he was not really afloat until the last week in May. On the 23rd he came out into the Sound to meet Lord Howard of Effingham, and on the 31st the combined fleets put to sea, in the hope that under press of sail they might still be in time to stop the coming of the great Armada.

Sir Francis's last business on shore appears to have been the signature of a power, appointing his wife, Dame Elizabeth, and his brother, Thomas Drake, joint attorneys for the management of his private property during his absence, and this makes it clear that, although Thomas had taken part in all Sir Francis's previous expeditions, he was not present at any of the Armada actions.

The memoranda of Drake's expenses show that, in the early part of 1588, Thomas was employed in furthering the preparations of the fleet, and that later—at the actual time of the fighting—he was busy at Plymouth, forwarding gunpowder with all haste to the ships engaged.

We do not propose to tell the story of those days, but in spite of all the years that have passed away, it is impossible to turn over the yellow pages of Drake's accounts, with Burleigh's marginal notes upon them, without a certain feeling of



exaltation. Pictures rise in one's mind as one comes upon entries such as these:

	£	s.	d.
To Jonas Bodenham for his charges of postage from the Court at Greenwich to Plymouth with letters from the Council to Sir Francis Drake for his speedy victualling . . . . .	10	0	0
For the charge of Sir Francis Drake from Plymouth to the Court, being sent for by order of her Ma <sup>tie</sup> and the Lords of the Council . . . . .	66	13	4
To Frederic the Surgeon to make a preparation of surgery for the fleete . . . . .	31	0	0
To William Page for his charge from Plymouth to the Court with advertisements of the descrying of the Spanish fleete . . . . .	5	8	0
To William Stallenge <sup>1</sup> gent for the like with advertisements of the aryval of the Spanish fleete . . . . .	8	0	0
To Mr. Tristram Gorges and Captain Ceely <sup>2</sup> of their going ashoar with the Spaniards . . . . .	112	0	0
Given in reward to the company of the <i>Revenge</i> after the second day's fight . . . . .	110	0	0
To XI surgeons in reward . . . . .	5	10	0
To Mr. Tristram Gorges <sup>3</sup> going towards London with Don Pedro . . . . .	50	0	0
For the ship <i>Thomas</i> the private property of Sir Francis Drake burnt at Calis with her ordnance, victuals and several other provisions in her . . . . .	1000	0	0

<sup>1</sup> William Stallenge was a merchant of Plymouth, but he seems also to have served with the Royal Navy; he is sometimes styled Captain Stallenge.

<sup>2</sup> For a curious account of Captain Ceely and the way in which he robbed the Spanish prisoners of their best clothes, see Professor Laughton's *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*.

<sup>3</sup> Tristram Gorges, of Budeauxhead, was a Devonshire neighbour of Sir Francis Drake.

These are a few only out of a number of suggestive and interesting memoranda recorded in the neat handwriting of Jonas Bodenham, who, in 1588, was a lieutenant on board the *Revenge*, and was secretary and receiver to Sir Francis Drake. The latter, in his official correspondence, styles him his 'servant'—that is, in his service—but elsewhere he is mentioned as Jonas Bodenham, gentleman.

The difference in the sums charged for journeys of divers persons to the Court is remarkable, but it is to be accounted for by the number of days spent in London and variations in the allowance for 'dyett' according to the official rank of the messenger. Sir Francis Drake's pay as admiral was 30s. a day, whilst that of Bodenham and Stallenge was only 10s. a month, nominally that is, for the system of pay then in force in the Navy was more complicated than it at first sight might appear.

'The broad principle of it was that below the rank of Captain every man on board received the same sum, 10s. a month, but an indeterminate number of non-existent men, known as dead shares, were also allotted 10s. a month, and these dead shares were divided amongst the officers and petty officers according to a scale not yet known.'<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, the whole ship's company received rewards, the amount of which was 'regulated partly by custom, partly by personal bargain and was partly also at the discretion of the Captain.'

According to the marginal notes on Drake's account sheets, Burleigh at first questioned his claim of £1,000 for the ship *Thomas*, which had been sacrificed by him the night before the battle of Gravelines, at a moment when fireships were urgently needed and no vessels were available for the purpose except such as were voluntarily offered. The State Papers, however, show that in the month of October Sir Francis was repaid for this loss, as well as for all

<sup>1</sup> *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, p. lxi.

disbursements in connexion with his prisoner, Don Pedro de Valdes.

A full and graphic account of the pursuit of the Armada, of Drake's successful tactics, of his brilliant victory off Gravelines, and of the great storm which completed the destruction of the Spanish fleet, will be found not here, but in Corbett's delightful 'Life of Drake,' to which we once more refer the reader, but the story of the capture of the three Dons, being a personal matter, comes within the scope of this book, and may be told without fear of trespassing upon the province of history.

Two circumstantial reports by eye-witnesses are extant ; one occurs in Don Pedro's letter to his sovereign ; the other, which is less well known, is the deposition of James Barron, a Devonshire yeoman, who declared that

in 1588, he was a shipboard with Sir Francis Drake, his then master, upon the Narrow Seas, when the fight was between the Spanish fleet and the English Navy, at which time he well remembered that one of the company did descrye a ship of the Spanyshe fleet, wherein the said Don Pedro de Valdes then was, to lye a little a luffe from his master's ship, which he made known unto the said Sir Francis Drake, and thereupon Sir Francis commanded a skyffe or pynny to be sent aboard to Don Pedro's ship and to summon the said Spanyshe ship to yeelde ; and withal to deliver these words (or the like in effect) that if the Captain of the said ship would come aborde Sir Francis Drake's ship and yeeld, he should have fayer warres [terms ?] ; or otherwise after his coming aboard, if should refuse to yeelde, then the said Sir Francis promysed that he should safely retorne to his own shipp. And shortly after, Don Pedro came aboard Sir Francis's ship, accompanied with two other Spanyardes, and being aboard in the said ship, Sir Francis entertained Don Pedro in his cabin, and there in the hearing of this deponent did will his own interpreter to ask the said Don Pedro, in the Spanyshe tongue, whether he would yeelde unto him or no ? and further to tell him that if he would not yeelde he would set him aboarde again, whereupon



Don Pedro paused a little while within himself; and afterwards yeelded unto Sir Francis Drake and remained with him as a prisoner, and so likewise did Don Vascoe and Don Alanoe. And thereupon Sir Francis sent dyvers of his gentlemen and others aboard Don Pedro's shipp and took possession thereof, and willed the said Spanyshe ship with her soldiers and mariners be brought to some harbour, because that Sir Francis was then to follow the Spanyshe fleet: but he caused Don Pedro, and Don Vascoe and Don Alanoe and dyvers other Spanyardes to stay in his own ship.<sup>1</sup>

Speed's account of the capture of the *Neustra Sennora del Rosario*, although fuller than that of Barron, agrees on all points with it. He says that Don Pedro's answer to Drake's summons was

that they were 450 strong, that he himself was Don Pedro and stood on his honour, and therefore propounded certain conditions. But the knight sent reply that he had not leisure to parlay; if he would yield presently, doe it; if not that he should well prove that Drake was no dastard; whereupon hearing that it was the fiery Drake (ever terrible to the Spaniards) who had him in chase, with 40 of his followers came on board Sir Francis his ship; where first giving him the congé, he protested that he and all his were resolved to die in defence, had they not falne under his power, whose valour and felicitie was so great that Mars and Neptune seemed to attend him in his attempt and whose generous mind towards the vanquished had often been experienced even of his greatest foes. Sir Francis requiting his Spanish compliments with honourable English courtesies, placed him at his own table and lodged him in his own cabin.

The Spanish soldiers and sailors taken in the fight were set ashore at Torbay and Dartmouth and placed under the charge of the local magistrates, George Cary of Cockington, then High Sheriff of Devon, and Sir John Gilbert, but Don Pedro and his two companions remained on board the

<sup>1</sup> *Dep. Exch.* iii. James Mich.

*Revenge* until July 31, when they were landed at Rye and taken to London under the escort of Mr. Tristram Gorges, who was at the same time the bearer of the following letter from Sir Francis Drake to Walsingham :

MOST HONOURABLE,

I am commaunded to send these presoners ashore by my Lord Admirall, which had ere this been long since done, but that I thought ther being here myght have done something which is not thowght meett now.

Lett me beseche your honor that they may be presented unto her Majestie, either by your Honor or my honourable good Lord my Lord Chancellor, or both of you. The one, Don Pedro, is a man of great estimacion with the King of Spaine, and thowght next in this army to the Duke of Seydonya. If they should be given from me to any other it would be some greif to my frynds. Yf her Majestie will have them, God defend but that I should think it happye.

We have the armye of Spaine before us, and minde with the Grace of God to wressell a poul with him. There was never anything pleased me better than seeing the enemy flying with a Sotherly wynd to the Northwards. God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for, with the Grace of God, if we live, I dowt it not but ere it be long so to handell the matter with the Duke of Seydonya, as he shall wish himself at Sainte Marie Porte amonge his oryng trees.

God give us grace to depend upon him, so shall we not dourt victory ; for our cause is good.

Humbly taking my leave this last of July, 1588,

Your Honor's faythfully  
to be commanded ever,  
FRA. DRAKE.

Walsingham and Sir Christopher Hatton must have united in backing up Drake's request, for its reasonableness was admitted, and ' Don Pedro with Don Alonso and Don Vascoe were all three comyted to the custody of Mr. Richard Drake, because Mr. Richard Drake was one that the said Sir Francis did specially regard as his trusted frynde.' The distinguished

prisoners were well treated, as Don Pedro admitted, in a letter written by himself to the King of Spain, shortly after his arrival at Esher.<sup>1</sup>

He was anxious that Philip should know all about his misfortune, and that it arose not through any fault of his own, but was due entirely to Sidonia's base abandonment of him. After describing how his ship, the *Neustra Sennora del Rosario*, was injured whilst going to the assistance of another galleon, he said :

I sent word of the distress I was in to the Duke of Medina, hoping he might have stayed for me till my hurt was repaired, but before it could be remedied, the foremast brake close by the hatches and fell upon the main mast ; so, as it was impossible to repair that hurt but in some good space of time, I did again send word thereof two several times to the Duke, and discharged three or four great pieces, to the intent that all the fleet might know what distress I was in, praying him either to appoint some ship or galeass to tow me ahead, or to direct me what other course I should take. Nevertheless, though he was near enough to me, and saw in what case I was and might easily have relieved me, yet would he not do it ; but even as if we had not been your Majesty's subjects nor employed in your service, discharged a piece to call the fleet together, and followed his course, leaving me comfortless in the sight of the whole fleet, the enemy being but a quarter of a league from me ; who arrived upon the closing of the day ; and although some ships set upon me, I resisted them and defended myself all that night till the next day, hoping that the Duke would send me some relief and not use so great inhumanity and unthankfulness towards me ; for greater I think was never heard of among men.

The next day finding myself in so bad a case, void of all hope to be relieved, out of sight of our fleet and beset with the enemies, and Sir Francis Drake, admiral of the enemy's fleet, bearing towards me with his ship, from whom there came a message that I should yield myself upon assurance of good usage ; I went aboard him upon his word, to treat

<sup>1</sup> A translation of the entire letter is given by Professor Laughton in his *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*.



of the conditions of our yielding, wherein the best conclusion that could be taken was the safety of our lives and courteous entertainment; for performance whereof he gave us his hand and word of a gentleman, and promised he would use us better than any others that were come to his hands, and would be a mean that the Queen should also do the like; whereupon, finding that this was our last and best remedy, I thought good to accept of his offer.

The next day he brought me to see the General,<sup>1</sup> by whom I was courteously received, seeming to be sorry that the Duke had used me so hardly, and confirming the same promises that Sir Francis Drake had made unto me.

After ten days space that I had been in his company, he sent me to London; and with me the captains of footmen, Don Alonso de Cayas of Laja, and Don Vascoe de Mendocay de Silva of Xeres de los Cavalleros, who had charge of the companies that were levied in those places; and the Queen at his request sent us four leagues off to a gentleman's house, called Richard Drake, that is his kinsman, where we receive the best usage and entertainment that may be. About forty of the better sort besides are bestowed in divers men's houses in London; the rest, together with the ship, were carried to Plymouth.<sup>2</sup>

I have no other matter to impart unto your Majesty until the return of Sir Francis Drake who is yet at sea, for then there will be some resolution taken what shall become of us. These captains do humbly kiss your Majesty's feet, and we all beseech your Majesty that it will please you to remember us, and to comfort us with your princely letters in answer hereof.

Philip was much concerned at the loss of his Andalusian flagship, and, on Medina Sidonia's return to Spain, an inquiry was instituted; he, being no seaman, sheltered himself from blame by proving that in leaving the *N. S. del Rosario* to her fate he had acted under the advice of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, commander of the Castilian squadron of the

<sup>1</sup> The Lord High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham.

<sup>2</sup> The *N. S. del Rosario* lay about three weeks in Torbay, and as soon as the wind favoured she was taken to Dartmouth, where all the prize business was transacted; she was eventually removed to Chatham and broken up.

Armada. Diego, who was a cousin of Don Pedro and generally believed to have borne him a grudge, was in consequence cast into prison, but after fifteen months he was liberated, owing, it may be, to the intercession of his cousin, or perhaps because the Valdes family were great people in Spain and held important appointments. One, Don Mendez de Valdes, was Governor of Porto Rico, and a letter of his, written to a relation in the Spanish Privy Council, says, 'I am grieved to the very soul at the imprisonment of my cousin, Don Pedro de Valdes, and pray God send him his liberty,' but of Don Diego he writes more coolly, 'I pray God give him good justice.'<sup>1</sup>

Pedro de Valdes remained for over four years with Richard Drake at Esher. Letters preserved among the State Papers show that he interested himself very especially in obtaining favourable terms of ransom for the seamen and soldiers who had been on board his ship. The Queen and council were mercifully disposed, and ordered that fourpence a day should be allowed to each man for his maintenance; but the money was not sent down, and the treatment the poor creatures received in consequence is a curious illustration of the ways of sixteenth-century magistrates. The sailors were sent to the Bridewell at Kingsbridge, but the soldiers were left on board their own ship and had to consume the rotten provisions remaining in her, whilst Cary wrote to the Council 'for some directions touching these Spanish prisoners, whom we would have been very glad they had been made water spaniels when they were first taken. . . . The people's charity to them (coming with so wicked an intent) is very cold, so that, if there be not forthwith order taken by your Lordships, they must starve . . . divers of them are already very weak and some dead.' But a month later, when an order had been obtained for their relief, Cary and Gilbert fell out about it.

<sup>1</sup> Hackluyt.

In this service Sir John Gilbert and I do not agree, for he, being unwilling to take any pains where no profit ariseth, would fain thrust the 226 prisoners which remain at Bridewell, 16 miles from my house, to my charge, and he would take upon him the charge of 160 of the said prisoners which remain a-shipboard hard by his house, and every day hardly labouring in his garden in the levelling of his grounds,<sup>1</sup> so that he is too wise for me (as he thinketh) to have their daily labour and yet allowance from her Majesty of 4*d.* per diem to each of them. I have no grounds to level, nor work to set them unto so far from my house,<sup>2</sup> and therefore under your Lordships' favour the match he offereth me is not equal.

With a view, perhaps, to being 'equal' with his brother magistrate, Cary goes on to advise that, 'with discreet order, these persons would be sufficiently relieved for 2*d.* a day each, if their lordships would but allow the money to be paid beforehand.' Apparently this was not done, and letter follows letter describing their pitiful condition.

The prisoners 'of the better sort,' and especially the Dons, were on the contrary very well cared for, and they enjoyed a fair amount of liberty. Under responsible escort Don Pedro seems to have been permitted occasionally to visit London, for we hear of him as being with Sir Francis in St. James's Park, on a day when the Queen was walking there; and her Majesty, taking notice of the Spaniard, wished Drake 'joy of his prisoner.'

The custody of Valdes was a charge not altogether free from anxiety, for he was at one time suspected of plotting,

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Gilbert of Greenway, elder brother of the famous Sir Humphrey Gilbert, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Chudleigh of Ashton. He died in 1596. There is a monument to his memory in Exeter Cathedral; Greenway, his seat on the Dart, is now in the possession of T. Bolitho, Esq., M.P. Westcote describes the house as being 'very pleasantly and commodiously placed to behold the barks and boats to pass and repass upon the river flowing from Dartmouth to Totnes.'

<sup>2</sup> Cockington Court, near Torquay. Cary was not so hard-hearted as he made himself out to be; for he relieved the prisoners at his own expense till money was sent for their maintenance.



and many precautions were taken lest he should escape. When Mr. Richard Drake was obliged to be absent from home, Walsingham desired that Mr. Lyfield, a J.P. for the county of Surrey, should 'lie at the house, lock the doors and keep the keys.' But notwithstanding some restrictions necessary for the assurance of their safe keeping, the Dons received—as they admitted—the best usage and entertainment that might be. Sir Francis sent 'Canary and Clarett wine' to Richard Drake for their use, and paid him four pounds weekly for their maintenance—equal to not less than £30 a week in present value. They saw a good deal of company 'as of noblemen, courtiers, citizens and strangers that did come into the country.' Lady Drake frequently paid visits to Esher; 'General Norris, Sir Francis Drake with divers other commanders in the wars, and many others of higher and lesser degree had great entertainment in that house by the occasion of Don Pedro's being there.' Numbers of country people also resorted to Esher in hopes of catching a sight of the illustrious prisoners, and Richard Drake, 'willing to give them content, and noe offence to the Spanyards, did often cause one to play upon the taber and pipe in his hall and sett them to dauncing, and soe brought in the Spanyards to see them daunce, whereby they might have a sight of the same Spanyards; and there was much beer drunk and much victuals spent in the house at these times.'<sup>1</sup>

We have no means of knowing exactly what arrangement Sir Francis and Richard Drake made between themselves as to the ransom money to be received. After both parties were dead, there was a good deal of quarrelling over it between their heirs, who were themselves without accurate information on the subject. But of one thing we may feel sure—that Sir Francis dealt handsomely and liberally with his friend. The amount of ransom he had from Don Alonso de Cayas and

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Depositions, Drake v. Drake, 1605.*

Don Vasco de Mendoza was £900. They appear to have been liberated somewhat earlier than their chief, who, during his fourth year in England, 'fell to be very sick,' and Richard Drake 'grew fearful that he might die, which made him ever after the more earnest with the Council that order should be taken for Don Pedro's deliverance.' The long period of his detention seems to have been the only circumstance in connexion with his captivity which de Valdes did not consider to have been quite fair. He had yielded himself to Sir Francis on the promise that ransom would be accepted, and was willing to pay a large sum for his liberty; yet year after year others were set free and he found himself still a prisoner.

This, however, was not Sir Francis Drake's fault; he was fully as anxious to have done with the expense of maintaining the Dons as they were to return to their own country. But the Queen and the Lords of the Council interfered, intimating that, while the common sailors might be liberated for one month's ransom apiece according to their rate of pay, with something more for expenses, a difference was to be made between 'the meaner sort and those that were officers . . . and further, that some that were found to be of quality and well friended in Spain, should be detained, and exchanged for others of her Majesty's subjects in prison and in the galleys of Spain, or else ransomed for sums answerable to their vocations.'

This order applied in an especial way to Don Pedro; he was the chief prisoner of all, and the Queen would not permit him to be ransomed for money alone. She required that he should be personally exchanged for an Englishman of equal importance. Thus it came to pass that Don Pedro was still at Esher in March 1592, as we know from a letter written at that time by a man named Gonzales, who says, 'Don Pedro abideth five miles from London as hitherto, for although they imputed unto him a desire to escape, and imprisoned him for

the same, Francis Drake, to whom he always hath recourse, hath arranged everything so as he goeth a-hunting and to other pleasure parties as in the time when he was not in prison.' <sup>1</sup>

Somewhat later in this year Valdes was exchanged for Sir Edward Winter, who in the meantime had been taken prisoner by the Dunkerkers, owing to his ship having run aground. Captain Jonas Bodenham was sent to Antwerp to arrange the terms of the bargain, and the sum of £1,500 was paid through agents into the hands of Richard Drake, by agreement with Sir Francis.

A curious and most human little incident is recorded of Don Pedro when he was on the point of departure. He embarked at Billingsgate, and Sir Francis went to the wharf to bid him farewell, when somehow Valdes discovered 'that the Master that was in the shippe that brake his maste was still a prisoner in England and he gave thancks that God had delivered him, and left the Master who [by bad seamanship] was the occasion of his taking and imprisonment.' <sup>2</sup>

After Don Pedro's return to Spain, he was appointed Governor of Cuba, where he remained till 1608, when he retired to Gijon, his native place, and died there in 1614.

We have lingered thus long over the history of the Spanish prisoners because of two relics in connexion with Don Pedro, which are among the most interesting possessions of the Drake family. One is his full-length portrait, which he either gave to Sir Francis Drake before he left, or permitted to be painted for him; the other is the carved and gilt bedstead which was removed from de Valdes's cabin when the *N. S. del Rosario* was dismantled at Dartmouth. It remains in its original condition, or at least as it was at the time when it was taken,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Gonzalo Gonzales to the King of Spain, Paris Archives Nationales see *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer Barons Depositions*, 1605, Drake v. Drake.





DON PEDRO DE VALDES  
Admiral of the Andalusian Squadron of the Spanish Armada



for the posts appear to have been shortened about six inches from the bottom, with the object, no doubt, of making the bedstead suitable to the height of the cabin.

After the dispersion of the Armada, when all danger was past, a service of thanksgiving was held at St. Paul's, and Dean Nowell preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross.<sup>1</sup> Upon this occasion, the battlements of the cathedral were decorated with eleven naval and military ensigns taken from Spanish ships, and a streamer from the *N. S. del Rosario*, having on it a picture of the Holy Virgin and Child, was held in a man's hand over the head of the preacher. As Dean Nowell's great-niece was wife of Archdeacon Barret, a relation of Sir Francis's, it is probable that it was at Barret's request Sir Francis gave his trophies to St. Paul's. The flags remained suspended in the nave for many years, and finally perished with the cathedral in the great fire of London.

About the time of the thanksgiving function, in the month of November 1588, Drake bought the seventy-one years' lease of a house in London, called the Herbor,<sup>2</sup> lately occupied by Don Querras, a wealthy merchant, who acted as political agent after Silva left and before the coming of Mendoza. The Herbor or Erbor, as Stowe calls it, was in the ward of Dowgate. It had a fine water frontage, 'vaults, gardens, court and appurtenance,' and must have been a spacious place, as well suited for business as for pleasure. Penant says that it was 'a vast house or palace, once a royal residence; Richard the third lived in it,' after whose time it passed through many hands, and finally came into the possession of Sir John Puleston, who rebuilt it in 1584.

<sup>1</sup> An Armada sermon is preached annually on August 12 in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, provided for by the will of J. Chapman of London, merchant. He was possibly related to Richard Chapman, Queen Elizabeth's ship-builder at Deptford, who was employed in fitting out ships to meet the Armada.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis's lease of the Herbor is amongst the family papers at Nutwell Court.



Zuccherò's portrait of Sir Francis, the only one which represents him wearing the green scarf and the jewel given him by the Queen, was most likely painted at the Herbor, for there is evidence that about this time that artist was busy in the neighbourhood, taking copies of pictures in the Steelyard Guildhall, which, with the Herbor, stood on ground now occupied by Cannon Street Station. Noblemen and gentlemen continued to have houses in Dowgate till the reign of Charles II, when the grand old riverside mansions were given up and Bloomsbury had its turn of fashion.

A town house was, no doubt, especially useful to Sir Francis whilst he was organising the great expedition, commonly called 'the Portugal voyage,' which was undertaken by himself and Sir John Norris in the year 1589. The Don Antonio scheme had come to the front again, and the Queen, anxious to find King Philip work at home, had given her consent and subscribed some money and a few ships—but only as a private adventurer, for the expedition was fitted out mainly at the expense of Drake, Norris, and a syndicate of merchants. There was immense enthusiasm in England in favour of the enterprise, and the number of gentlemen who volunteered for it was far in excess of those who could possibly be taken. One of the accepted candidates was Hugh Drake, eldest son of Sir Bernard Drake of Ash; he lost his life in the expedition. Another was William Whitlocke, twin brother of the future Sir James Whitlocke, and a connexion of Sir John Hawkins through his first wife, Catherine Gonson. His father was a merchant, whose widow, we are told, 'set her heart on bringing up her sons in as good a sort as any gentleman in England would do, in singing, dancing, playing on the lute and other instruments, the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French tongues, and to write fair,' but 'William had no mind to learning,' and when the Portugal voyage was declared, 'he left master thrift and all'

and took service with Sir Francis Drake; 'and although he was brought up from shipboard at his return in a sheet, he was so extream weak, . . . when he was well again, he followed the wars altogether.'<sup>1</sup> We shall hear more of young Whitlocke further on.

The disappointed aspirants had no ultimate reason to regret their rejection, for of the 12,000 men who had set forth, quite 6,000 perished from yellow fever or dysentery, and the intrepid survivors gained far less credit than they deserved, because, owing to circumstances beyond the control of their commanders, the expedition was only in part successful. The national purpose was achieved, for Philip was cured of all thoughts of meddling any more in the forcible conversion of England; and the adventurers' expenses were moderately, though not handsomely, repaid. But all the blood and treasure expended in support of Don Antonio's claims was thrown away, for when it came to the point, in spite of their brilliant promises, the Portuguese people were too apathetic to rise in his favour. Gradually the partizans of the Pretender abandoned his cause, and after a few years of desultory wanderings upon the Continent he finished his life miserably in Paris, with but one adherent left.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Whitlocke's *Liber Familicus*, p. 11.

## CHAPTER VI

AFTER Drake's return from Portugal, the next four years of his life were devoted to patriotic and peaceful occupations, mostly for the benefit of his beloved town of Plymouth, of which he was the parliamentary representative, and where he was at all times immensely popular.

He was possessed of some property in the borough, although apparently not much ; at one of his houses he and his wife occasionally resided, but the situation of this is not exactly known. In another house belonging to him, in the High Street, his brother, Thomas Drake, dwelt. A third, which had two gardens attached to it, was at the corner of Buckerell Street and Looe Street, and this place is styled in an old deed amongst the Plymouth records, ' the inheritance of Sir Francis Drake, some time in the tenure of Jno. Weeks.' We suppose from this that it had already belonged to some member of his family, upon whose death it had been let, for in 1588 Sir Francis renewed a lease thereof, granting to Anthony Plott and his wife a term of sixty years, in consideration of the money they had already laid out upon the premises.

In the previous century, when Plymouth had been little more than a fishing village, it had been twice burned down by roving French and Bretons, but in Elizabeth's time it was fast becoming one of the most frequented ports of the kingdom, and may have been about as large a place as



Dartmouth is now. It could hardly have been bigger, for on Mount Wise there was only one house, Devonport as a town had no existence at all, and Stonehouse was represented merely by a church, a fort and a few houses; but much English and foreign shipping came within the haven, and if an enemy had attacked the place, the consequences to the realm would have been far more serious than the Breton raids had been in the olden days.

‘They sleep quietly at whose doors the guard is watchful’ is an Elizabethan maxim in the truth of which Sir Francis firmly believed; and he effectually urged upon the Government and the townspeople the necessity for the erection of a fort to protect the entrance to the harbour. ‘Sir Francis, the better to draw them to so good an action tending to the general benefit, hath offered to contribute for his parte £100 at the leaste . . . this forte being once erected, the town and whole countrie should be more resolute and safe.’ Apparently, the citizens had not been feeling either the one or the other, for the mayor went on to say that, upon a late report of invasion, the townspeople had been ‘strucken with such feare that some of them convaied their goods out of the town and others no doubt would have followed, if they had not been stopped by the coming of Sir Francis Drake, who, the more to assure them, brought his wife and family thither.’

By his advice, additions were made to the fortifications on St. Nicholas’s Island, and when a guard was established there, it is recorded that Sir Francis took the first watch himself, since which time the old name has been almost entirely superseded, and the place in compliment to him has been commonly called Drake’s Island.

No less was Sir Francis inspired by a wise patriotism in his great scheme for bringing fresh water into Plymouth. Up till then, we are told, the town had for the greater

part of the year but a small supply, and in dry weather there was none at all, 'a matter very inconvenient,' not only to the inhabitants, who in the summer had to fetch water daily from more than a mile's distance, but also to mariners coming within the harbour to water their ships, who consequently spent much time in sending to and fro for it, 'by reason whereof divers tymes they lost good wyndes and opportunities.'

In order to remedy these evils and to scour the haven, which was in imminent danger of being choked with the sand brought down from the tin works on and around Roborough Down, Sir Francis, almost entirely at his own expense, caused a leat to be cut. He started it from a little spring below Shepstor, and after taking it by a winding course of about twenty-seven miles, in which it gathers up the waters of the Mew and other subsidiary streams, and cutting through a rock till then thought to be impenetrable, 'he made the way he could not find, and overcoming the difficulty finished the enterprise to the continual commodity of the place and his own perpetual honour.'<sup>1</sup> The stream thus formed was led to a reservoir above the town; but before it reached this point, it supplied the motive power for two new mills built by Sir Francis, to whom the corporation granted a thirty-one years' lease of the same at a pepper-corn rent, in consideration of his liberality and skill. The purpose of these grist mills was not merely that they should be a source of gain to the town or himself, they were quite as much intended to meet a national want, for, at a time

<sup>1</sup> The corporation paid £300 to Sir Francis Drake, for which sum he agreed to compound with the landowners through whose property the leat passed. When once the course of the stream was planned, the work proceeded so rapidly that popular legend attributed its completion to magic, declaring that, as Sir Francis galloped into Plymouth, the water sprang from the ground and followed the tail of his horse.

when there were no Government victualling yards, the difficulty of provisioning ships rapidly on an emergency had been great, and might at any moment have led to disaster.

Sir Francis Drake's princely gift to the town of Plymouth is still commemorated annually on the last day of April, at a ceremony called the 'Fyshynge Feaste,' at which the mayor presides. After an official inspection of the water-works, the members of the Town Council and their guests, being assembled at the Head Weir, in the parish of Walkhampton, a goblet filled with pure water taken from the leat by the corporation surveyor, is handed by him to the chairman of the water committee, who presents the same to the mayor and requests him to drink 'To the pious memory of Sir Francis Drake'; and, passing the cup from one to the other, each drinks and repeats the same words. Another goblet, filled with wine, is then presented by the chamberlain to the mayor, who drinks the toast, 'May the descendants of him who gave us water never want wine,' passing the cup as before. Then follows the 'Feaste,' which is provided with trout freshly caught upon the spot.

The country through which the leat runs below Burrator is very wild and beautiful, and it may still be seen much as it was on the day when Sir Francis, with the mayor and corporation, amidst the firing of salutes and heralded by mounted trumpeters, rode beside the water as it flowed for the first time into the town.<sup>1</sup> Soon, however, all will be changed, for this valley is to disappear and become the site of a great lake or reservoir, which is in future to collect the water required for the ever-increasing wants of the great town of Plymouth, the inhabitants whereof for three hundred years have had no other supply to rely upon than that of Sir Francis Drake's leat.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written the reservoir has been made.



Mention has been made in its place of the kind reception given by the ever-hospitable corporation to the first Lady Drake, on the occasion of her husband's mayoralty, but her successor seems to have been a more distinctly popular personage in the borough; perhaps because of her sprightliness, good looks, and greater usage of society. Frequent are the entries in the municipal accounts of dinner or 'supper for Drake and his ladye and other justices,' and upon one occasion, when Sir Robert Cecil was expected, 'some of the Mrs. of the towne' were included in the invitation to meet him. These ladies, the wives of the twelve and the twenty-four, we may suppose, were by no means without a share in the corporation festivities, for we find that during the mayoralty of Mr. Browne, £3 10s. 3d. was paid 'for provisions when the Mystresses rade out to view the watercourse.' A pleasant day they must have had. We can imagine the procession; the young and lively ladies escorted by their cavaliers and managing their own ponies, the more sedate dames seated on Spanish saddles or mounted on pillions behind their husbands, all jogging very decorously out of the town; but once upon that delightful 'Down,' with the exciting air, the springing turf beneath their horses' feet and miles of open country before them, could they all resist the longing for a spreading gallop? We fear that Mr. Mayor had a difficulty in keeping his party together.

The moorland district through which they rode must have been much the same then, as regards the number and characteristics of the population, as it has been within living memory. There were more miners at that time, perhaps, but the farms bore the same names, and the title deeds of such of them as we are acquainted with, belonging to the Drake property, show that they existed as farms before Elizabeth's reign, and had mostly been appanages of religious foundations either near or far away. Villages

could not grow very rapidly then, for without a licence from Quarter Sessions no person might build a cottage, unless he assigned to it at least four acres of land to be continually occupied with it. Accordingly, some of the moorland parish churches have very few houses near them even now; and one might wonder how they could have been even half filled on Sundays had it not been that the justices were expected to be vigilantly on the look out for 'recusants,' and that distance was apparently not considered to be a very valid excuse for frequent non-attendance at divine service.

Some of the Devonshire magistrates appear to have been rather lax themselves, for in 1592 the Lords of the Council appointed the Earl of Bath (Lord Lieutenant), Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Gilbert, and Sir Francis Drake, Commissioners to take oaths of all the other county justices, with a view to the elimination from the Bench of all 'recusants' or such persons 'as did not repayer to their church or chapel accustomed,' or whose wives and sons and heirs refused to come to church, 'a matter not agreeable with the vocation of any that ought to enquer of all such offenders and reforme the same.'

Occasional references to Sir Francis's work as a magistrate may be found in the Plymouth municipal records, such as the mention of his sending in a man arrested by his orders for murder committed on Cattdowne, or as being himself 'sent for about the pilchards'; and there are frequent entries of '12*d.* paid for messengers dispatched to Buckland,' with letters for him about the 'town's business,' and for the expenses of forwarding letters to him in London.

Whenever the municipality were in any difficulty, it was always to Sir Francis Drake that they turned for advice and assistance. A great many of his letters must at one time

have been among the town records, yet now there is but one remaining, for which reason, and because it concerns his friend, Mr. William Strode, we append it. The latter, desirous of turning his urban property to the best advantage, proposed to erect some buildings on his own land close to the water; to this certain influential members of the corporation objected, nominally, on the ground that it might interfere with the forts, but in reality, because her Majesty's Customer at Plymouth believed that smuggling would thereby be rendered more easy. The Lords of the Council were petitioned upon the matter, and Sir Francis, who was then staying in London, was requested to use his influence. His reply to Mr. Barons, Mayor of Plymouth, and the rest of his colleagues is as follows:

After my very hartie commendacions unto you all, you shall understand that touching the matter between yor Towne and Mr. Strode, Mr. Sparke has done as much therein as if many more of you had been there, could possibly have been done, for he hath not onlie stood in answeare of the Cause at the Council boarde, but he also laboured all the chief lls: aparte, and yet upon exacon of the matter the lls: said they saw no great reason to prohibit him to builde uppon his own lands, and to have the benefit of the Lawe. Notwithstanding, uppon Mr. Sparke's earnest allegations to the contrarie, their lls: condescended to grant a commission to be directed unto the Judges of Th' assizes, to Sir John Gilbert, myself and some others, to th' ende we may consider whether it be lawful and expedient to have any building between the two forts, and if it thought tollerable, then to lymitte, howe farr into the water the same shall extende. For yor other matter of the forte wch (in my opinion) doth concern you much nearer, doubt not but whilst I am here I shall stoppe yt. Within four or five daies, I shall be able to write to you more at large: And then if you send some bodie up to sollicyte yor suyte in that behalf, whilst Sir John Hawkins and myself are here together, I surely hoape to



gett the government confirmed in the Towne. And so in haste do bid you heartilie farewell. From Dowgate the 20th of Januarie, 1589.

Yor assured loving freend,

FRA: DRAKE.

You shall not need to send any hether for your townes busines before my coming to Plymouth: which may be som 25 dayes hence.

The end of it all was that Mr. Strode's project was sanctioned, and the Commissioners were directed so to act that he might be relieved of all discouragement and opposition.

Whilst engaged in these and other occupations of public utility, amongst which was the founding of the 'Chatham Chest'<sup>1</sup> for disabled seamen, and an offer to endow a scholarship at Oxford for the study of navigation, Sir Francis did not neglect to attend to the improvement of his estates. In the year 1592 he obtained from William, Lord Mountjoy, a lease of the fishing from Denham Bridge to Lopwell, on the Beerferrers side of the river Tavy, at the nominal rent of two shillings a year, 'in consideration of the kindness heretofore shewed to Lord Mountjoy by Sir Francis Drake'; he was thus enabled to throw a weir across the river, whereby he obtained a plentiful supply of salmon and trout, which, in later times, before the fish were poisoned by mine water, was worth £200 a year to the Buckland property. The weir was of stone about twelve feet high, twenty feet wide at the bottom, coming up to three feet wide at the top; the cost of its erection was two hundred marks;<sup>2</sup> but this may have included the expense of building a very small mill, which was put up close to it, for the purpose of grinding the corn

<sup>1</sup> The Chatham Chest was founded by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins jointly.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalent to about £800 of our money.

required for household use at Buckland Abbey. Of the mill not a vestige is left; in 1870 the weir was still more than half intact. Since that time it has been almost entirely washed away, but some remains of it are yet visible a little below Denham Bridge.

It would be interesting to know what special kindness had been done to Lord Mountjoy by Sir Francis Drake. That there was some family story connected with the lease is indicated by the words, 'This lease to be preserved with great care,' written across the back by the third baronet, about eighty years afterwards, when it had long ceased to confer any fishery rights; the conjecture is supported by evidences of a continuous friendship between the Mountjoy family and Sir Francis. The furniture of his cabin, which he took round the world with him in the *Pelican*, is still shown at Berkeley Castle. Lord Fitzhardinge has no tradition of how it came there, but it can scarcely be doubted that it was through Catherine Blount, sister of Lord Mountjoy, whose first husband was a Champernowne, and her second Sir Maurice Berkeley.

Again, in 1592, Sir Francis received the bequest of a ring, inscribed 'The remembrance of a friend,' from Henry, Earl of Arundell, husband of Catherine Gray, Lady Mountjoy's niece. Whatever Sir Francis Drake's service may have been, it originated, most likely, in his own grateful recollection of assistance given by Lord Mountjoy's father and stepmother to Edmund Drake, at the time of his flight into Kent. Only small natures are unthankful, and Sir Francis was the last man to forget a kindness done to him and his, or to fail in requiting it when opportunity arose.

Posie rings seem to have been a favourite form of souvenir with the Elizabethan heroes; Sir Gawen Champernowne of Dartington, who, as well as the Earl of Arundell, fitted out

a barque against the Spanish Armada, also left a ring to Sir Francis Drake with a like inscription on it. He was a cousin of Sir Richard Champernowne, and Sir Francis appears to have been equally great friends with both. One pleasant link with Sir Richard may have been a mutual love of music.

Sir Francis, we know, when at sea dined alone to the sound of violins, and Sir Richard, who 'was often oppressed with melancholy more than he could wish,' solaced himself at his castle of Modbury with the harmony of a full choir. A report of the excellence of this music reached the Court, and Cecil seems to have wished to secure the services of one of the singers, whereof Sir Francis gave a hint to his friend, who writes in great trouble that

if he should lack this youth knows not where to get another ; otherwise Cecil should not so readily require as he yield him, and yet he perceives the report of the boy's voice is far indeed above his deserts. As the case stands, losing this boy, his whole consort for music, which most delights him, were overthrown. If, for his private contentment, Cecil would like to have the youth attend him sometimes for a month or two, and so return again, that the comfort of music wherewith he is delighted be not utterly overthrown, the youth shall be at his command.<sup>1</sup>

No doubt Sir Francis enjoyed the singing when he and Lady Drake visited their friend at Modbury Castle ; and we can imagine the two knights smiling as, perhaps, the choir rendered ' Mi hermano Bartolo,' a little ballad very popular in Spain before the Armada set out.

Mi hermano Bartolo	And Bartolo my brother
Si va a Inglaterra	To England forth is gone
A matar el Draque	Where the Drake he means to kill,
Y a prender la Reyna	And the Lutherans everyone
Y a los Luteranos	Excommunicate from God.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com.*, part v. p. 437.



De la Bandomessa  
Trene de traerme  
A mi de la guerra  
Un Luteranico  
Con una cadena  
Y una Luterana  
A senora aguela.

Their Queen among the first  
He will capture and bring back  
Like heretics accurst.  
And he promises moreover,  
Among his spoils and gains  
A heretic young serving boy  
To give me bound in chains  
And for my lady grandmamma  
Whose years such waiting crave,  
A handy little Lutheran,  
To be her maiden slave.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst on the subject of songs, we may as well give a specimen of another style of verse, published by Richard Hayman, in 1623, under the title of *Quodlibets*, wherein the writer describes his youthful meeting with the great Sir Francis.

The Dragon that o'er the seas did raise its crest,  
Glory of his age. After ages wonder,  
Excelling all those that have excelled before  
It's feared we shall have none such any more ;  
Effecting all he sole did undertake,  
Valliant, just, mild, honest, godly Drake,  
This man when I was little I did meete,  
As he was walking up Totnes' long streete.  
He asked me whose I was ? I answered him.  
He asked me if his good friend were within ?  
A fair red orange in his hand he had  
He gave it me, whereof I was right glad.  
Takes and kist me and prayes God bless my boy ;  
Which I recall in comfort to this day.

Sir Francis had a sailor's love for children, and it was surely a disappointment to him that he had none of his own. We have before alluded to his kindly feeling towards the son of his friend, Richard Drake of Esher. The boy was Sir

<sup>1</sup> The translation is by Ticknor.

Francis's godson,<sup>1</sup> and, as Richard and Sir Francis were very great friends, it is not impossible that in some undefined way the latter may have promised to do something for his godson when he came to manhood. Years went on; Sir Francis married a second time, but had no direct heirs, and still showed a partiality for Richard's boy. But by and by Thomas Drake also married, and the birth of Sir Francis's nephew altered the position of affairs. As this child grew older Richard Drake evidently began to feel that he would like to have some assurance in his own son's favour more binding than a vague understanding; and he cast about for a way of giving his friend a reminder.

A convenient opportunity presented itself in the early part of 1593, when, Don Pedro and his companions having been ransomed, Richard Drake found himself at liberty to leave home and pay visits to his friends. In the spring of this year, he and his son left London in company with Sir Francis Drake, and all rode down to the west together. On the way, Richard Drake turned off—probably at Axminster, to stay with his nephew John in the old family home of Ash—whilst Sir Francis travelled on to Buckland, accompanied by Richard's son, Francis, then aged about fifteen, and a Mr. Pomfret of Esher, who we imagine was the boy's tutor.

The visit lasted twelve weeks, during which time the guests were 'most kindly entertayned and graced,' and everything was done by Sir Francis and Lady Drake that

<sup>1</sup> See will of Sir William Drake of Shardeloes, d. August 28, 1669, who, in case of the extinction of his own branch, appoints Sir Francis Drake of Buckland to be the ultimate heir of his estates. Sir William says he does this 'not only in regard to the great merits of Sir Francis Drake the Seaman in Queen Elizabeth's days, but likewise in respect of his affections expressed in his last will and testament to the said Francis Drake (father of the said William Drake godson of the said Francis Drake the Seaman).'

could contribute to their pleasure and enjoyment. It is pretty evident that Mr. Pomfret had been instructed to keep his eyes and ears open, and to take advantage of a favourable occasion to hint or suggest that an estate should now be legally secured to Richard Drake's son ; but Sir Francis either did not, or would not, understand what was intended, thinking, perhaps, that he had already done enough for his friend, having obtained for him the custody of the three Dons, enabled him to enrich himself by sharing in the most profitable 'adventures' of the day, and at different times lent him considerable sums of money which had not yet been repaid.

Towards the end, when the visitors were about to depart, Mr. Pomfret openly led up to the subject ; then, as it could no longer be ignored, Sir Francis called him aside and desired him to explain to Mr. Richard Drake that it was impossible for him to settle one of his estates upon his godson, because, by agreement with Sir George Sydenham, the manors of Yarcombe, Buckland, and Samford Spiney were to be the property of Lady Drake, and that Sir George 'would take it amiss' if any attempt were made to divert them from her. Sir Francis added a few kind words, which the excellent Mr. Pomfret construed into a favourable, though indefinite, promise of 'great good' to come some day to his young charge, and his hopes were still further raised when, at parting, Sir Francis gave the boy a jewel and money in his purse.

We are in possession of so few details respecting our hero's private life that it will not be superfluous if, having already given several specimens of his official correspondence, we now append a letter upon a purely private matter—the only one of the kind that has been preserved in the family. It concerns the manor of Yarcombe and some lands in that parish, which Sir Francis had purchased a



few years previously from Mr. Richard Carew of Antony.<sup>1</sup> It is addressed to a friend who possessed property adjoining.

To the most worthy Philip Bovil Esquier  
at Killigarth in Cornwall give theis.  
Worthye Sr,

Yors of the VIith of August I have receved, and by the contents thereof it showeth yn accompt the commons in question to be cleerlie yors, whereas I have (by some of my tennants) been creedible informed to the contrary, that these commons do belong to my manor of Yarcombe, and although there were a vewe formerly taken of the same (as you write of) I think it should have been committed to writing for the more certen determyynge of the difference herein, or at least some boundes sett up to show how farr the commons you pretend to have or clayme do extende, but however, if it still appeare to mee by any probable testimony or that Cate<sup>2</sup> and other of my ancient tenants of Yarcombe will mayntayne (as you saie) that this common in difference doth belong to you, I shall most gladly surcease my clayme. I will further make a journey of purpose to conferr with my auncient tennants herein the better to satisfye you and myself.

And touching the rent you write of being Xs Viid p. annm, due upon the lands sometyne Mr. Carewe's, uppon perusall of my rentall I doe not find any such high rent issueing out as you clayme, but if you showe or my deeds [show], to chardge my land herein, it must be answered, for I am very willing to satisfie all just demaunds; by reason of many other busynesses I cannot at this instant appoynt a certen meeting for determyning of this difference but am verie willing that the commons in question shall be vewed, and am contented and will willingly yeild to what shall be fair and reasonable, neither have I any desire to detayne the said rent if I maye be satisfyed how it groweth due.

<sup>1</sup> Author of the *Survey of Cornwall*.

<sup>2</sup> William Cate occupied a barton and lands named Yelscombe, now Elscombe, in the parish of Yarcombe.

And so with the remembrance of my love unto you, my best respect to my most honard friend, yor sonn Sir Barnard Grenvile,<sup>1</sup>

Committing you both to God, doe rest

Yor loving frende

FFRA: DRAKE.

Sir Barnard Grenvile of Stowe and John Grenvile, who was killed in the Indies when serving under Sir Francis Drake, were both sons of the famous Sir Richard Grenvile, the story of whose heroic action on board the *Revenge* and his courageous death, though so well known, may be fitly recalled here, as Sir Richard was at one time possessed of Buckland Abbey, where his crest still remains carved above the fireplace in the hall.<sup>2</sup>

In 1592 Sir Richard was appointed Vice-Admiral of a small squadron of seven ships under Lord Thomas Howard, whose orders were to intercept the Spanish Plata fleet off the Azores; but King Philip, having knowledge of what was intended, sent a fleet of fifty-three sail. The numerical superiority of the enemy compelled the English to give way, with the exception of Sir Richard Grenvile, who alone fought the whole Spanish Navy for a day and a night, sinking four of their vessels, and not surrendering till he was mortally wounded and had not a barrel of powder left. Then Sir Richard was 'borne into the ship called the *San Paolo*, wherein was the Admiral of the fleet Don Alonzo de Bazan. There his wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons but Don Alonzo would neither see him nor speak with him. All the rest of the captains and gentlemen went to visit him and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for he showed not any sign of faintness or

<sup>1</sup> Sir Barnard Grenvile, of Stowe in Cornwall, married Elizabeth Bovile in July 1592. The above letter was probably written in that or the following year.

<sup>2</sup> The Grenvile 'clarions' also may be found carved in the corners of the drawing-room mantelpiece at Buckland.

changing of colour.' His last words were addressed to the Spanish officers about him. 'Here,' said he, 'die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, Queen, religion and honour; whereby my soul most joyfully departeth out of this body, and shall leave behind it a lasting fame as of a true soldier that hath done his duty as he was bound to do.'

The gallant ship *Revenge*, true to her name, was fatal to the Spaniards even when they had captured her, for, before the prize crew put upon her could get her into harbour, a tremendous storm arose and she went down with seventy Spaniards on board.

She was Sir Francis Drake's favourite ship, and it must have been some slight consolation to him to know that she could never be of use to the enemies of his country.

His own valiant life was now also drawing to a close. In 1595 we find him, by command of the Queen, once more fitting out a fleet to attack King Philip's dominions. Her Majesty contributed six ships only, viz. :

The *Defiance*, Admiral Sir Francis Drake.

The *Garland*, Vice-Admiral Sir John Hawkins.

The *Hope*, Captain Gilbert York.

The *Bonadventure*, Captain Troughton.

The *Foresight*, Captain Winter, and

The *Adventure*, Captain Thomas Drake.

But there were twenty others belonging to private owners, and these were mostly fitted out at the expense of Drake and Hawkins, who provided all the money they could themselves, and raised the remainder in the usual way, by loan from merchants. A large sum was required for this truly public service, and Sir Francis made himself personally responsible for the repayment, as the following document shows.



August 27th, 1595. Whereas Sir Francis Drake by reason of the journey which he is about by the grace of God to performe, has become indebted to some persons for divers sums of money, and whereas divers sums of money are owing to him, he appoints Anthonie Rouse, William Strode and Christopher Harris, Esquires (for the trust, confidence, friendship, fidelitie and careful dealing in his affairs and businesse) to pay and recover all such debts immediately he is gone to the seae, and he grants them all his leases of divers lands for many years yet enduering and to come, also his lease of the mills of Plymouth, and all his goods and chattles whatsoever, till his returne from his journey; and if he should happen to die, then for five years from the time of his decease, to pay all such debts and to be accountable for the surplusage, which is to be disposed of as by will he shall direct.<sup>1</sup>

Further, in order to provide against all eventualities, Sir Francis at the same time caused the will to be drawn up, which was to make known his final intentions, although he did not then put his name to it, but kept it by him to be completed as occasion should require.

Besides making these arrangements with regard to the future, Sir Francis sold his house in Dowgate for £1,300, in order to meet present expenses, and he endeavoured to recover the £600 he had lent some years previously to Sir Bernard Drake on a mortgage of the Ash estate. The principal was repaid, but apparently with difficulty, for Sir Bernard's successor was not able to raise enough money to clear off the interest which had been owing from the commencement of the mortgage, and Sir Francis promised, for old friendship's sake, that 'if he made a saving voyage' he would forgive that debt and that John Drake, Bernard's son, should thenceforth enjoy his property free of incumbrance.

<sup>1</sup> Power of Attorney at Nutwell Court.

But a saving voyage it was not to be ; the days had passed when Philip could be taken unawares ; the very magnitude of the preparations prevented any possibility of secrecy, and by the time the expedition reached Nombre de Dios the treasure had been removed, and there was nothing in the town worth taking. So, too, it was at Rio la Hacha and other places which the English attacked. Their deadliest foe, however, was the climate, and one after another officers and men sickened and died. Sir John Hawkins breathed his last on November 12, and on January 15 Sir Francis himself began to complain of dysentery and to keep his cabin. For ten days 'the sickness grew on him,' and on the 27th of the month he knew the hopelessness of his condition. On that day he signed the will he had brought with him, added a codicil thereto, and at the same time executed a deed of settlement entailing all his estates, excepting the manor of Samford Spiney, upon his brother Thomas Drake and his heirs, to the intent that his property should 'remayne and continue in his own name and blood to the good pleasure of Almighty God.' This document is in the handwriting of Bodenham, but sealed with Sir Francis's seal and signed by him with an unfaltering hand. It is written on a single sheet of paper, is very short and to the point, and was undoubtedly dictated as he lay dying. To the Drakes of Buckland it is a sacred and most precious relic. Devoid, indeed, of sympathetic understanding must anyone of them be, who could handle it without emotion, as he realises those last scenes in the sultry little cabin, when the dying 'Warrior' called his brother and his wife's nephew, Captain Jonas Bodenham, to his bedside, and 'commaunded Thomas to be kind and lovinge to Bodenham, and to be advised and directed by him in all his busines.' Whilst from the latter, who as receiver had in his hand large sums of money for which he was accountable, Sir Francis exacted a solemn promise 'to

deal faithfully with Thomas.' Then, remembering some of his officers not specially mentioned in his will, he sent for them and gave them parting gifts, and he desired William Whitlocke, who served him in his chamber and was nearest about him at that time,<sup>1</sup> to put his armour upon him a little before his death, that he might die like a soldier.

Towards the end, being in delirium, 'he rose and made some speeches, but being brought to bed againe within one hour dyed' and 'yielded up his spirit like a Christian to his Creator, quietly in his cabin' on the morning of January 28, 1596.<sup>2</sup>

The body of the hero was placed in a leaden coffin and carried a league out to sea, and there, early on the following day, was committed to the deep amidst a lament of trumpets and a sound of cannon. 'The waves became his winding sheet, the waters were his tombe, But for his fame the Ocean Sea was not sufficient roome.'

As none could say 'Here lies Sir Francis Drake,' no monument was erected to his memory, although Latin and English epitaphs were produced in abundance, composed for the most part in a style which, though in vogue then, is far too stilted for modern taste; of the many encomiums on

<sup>1</sup> Whitlocke, *Liber Familiaris*. Notwithstanding a slight tone of disparagement in Sir James Whitlocke's references to his brother, there is something singularly attractive in his description of him.

'He served Sir Francis Drake in his chamber and followed him to the Groin [Corunna] and his other voyages, and behaved himself very valiantly and to the good liking of his maister, and so continued in his service until Sir Francis died at sea; at which time he was nearest about him and put his armour upon him a little before his deathe, which he would have done that he might dy like a souldier. Sir Francis gave him divers ritche legacies of plate and jewels at his deathe, but he was ransacked of all by the brother of Sir Francis, and by meer wrong barred from his maister's bounty. He followed this course of life untill at the last, going forth in a ship of war to the Indies, he lost his life in a conflict with the Spanyards. He was a very tall young man, strong of body, flaxen hair, fair of complexion, exceeding wasteful in expense and careless of all worldly matters that tended to thrift. He was about twenty-seven years old when he died.'

<sup>2</sup> Hackluyt, and Captain Henry Savile's *Libell of Spanish Lies*.



him written since his death, none sums up his character so well as the one, quoted from 'Fuller's Worthies,' with which Barrow finishes his life of Sir Francis Drake, and with which we too will close the first part of our family history. 'This our Captain was a religious man towards God and his houses, generally sparing churches where he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word, and merciful to those who were under him, hating nothing so much as Idleness.'



**PART II**  
**THOMAS DRAKE**  
**1585-1606**





## PART II

### CHAPTER I

It has been said, and perhaps rightly, that if the biography of any person could be written perfectly truthfully, if all could be told, there are few, even of the most ordinary beings, whose story would be without a deep human interest. Unfortunately, not many details of commonplace lives three centuries ago are usually transmitted to us, and where, as in Thomas Drake's case, but little is known, and a somewhat limited nature has to be portrayed in immediate succession to a remarkably gifted one, the lesser character is sure to be unduly dwarfed by the contrast.

Yet Thomas had his good points ; not the least was his devotion to his brother, whom he accompanied on the voyage round the world and on all his distant expeditions. He was industrious and persevering, and although a contemporary chronicler says that ' Thomas Drake was not the wisest man in Christendom,'<sup>1</sup> he must nevertheless have been a capable officer, for he was constantly employed on naval matters both on shore and at sea, and was one of those who were appointed with the mayor and certain aldermen of Plymouth ' to inhabit the Castle in time of war.'

In private life he seems to have been a useful citizen, an attached husband and an affectionate father ; but he had

<sup>1</sup> John Cooke, Harl. MS.

one quality which marred the good effect of all the others : he was of a tenacious and extraordinarily suspicious disposition, induced, perhaps, by his early training in the office of Mr. Baker, where constant watchfulness against embezzlement of government stores may have been his chief duty. More probably, however, the characteristic was inherited, and was simply another form of his father's want of good judgment.

Thomas Drake was twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he joined the little company who were 'the first to turn up a furrow round the globe.' The fame and success of that expedition, no doubt, decided him to make the sea his profession, and in due time, like his brother, to enter the Royal Navy. In 1585 he took part (as captain of the *Thomas*) in the St. Domingo voyage, and probably found employment and advantage in other cruises of which we know nothing. In 1587 he served again under Sir Francis in the Cadiz expedition, and by the end of that year he had gathered sufficient fortune to enable him to think of taking to himself a wife.

By this time, for a man in his position, he was probably quite comfortably off, as Elizabeth's captains had many opportunities of enriching themselves. They were mostly capable business men and well to do. Besides prize-money, dead shares, &c., they had perquisites in such rights as those of deck cargoes, and percentage on all freights, not inconsiderable sources of profit at a time when the Royal Navy was almost as much for commerce as for warfare.

The lady of Thomas Drake's choice was Elizabeth Elford, whose first husband, John Elford of Shepstor, had died about four years previously, leaving her with three sons, the eldest of whom, Walter, was not quite eight years old. Her maiden name was Gregorie, and all we know of her family is that her father was of Plympton St. Mary, and had for armorial bearings, azure, within three crescents or, as many mullets



# GENEAL

Mary Newman = Sir Francis Drake, = Elizabeth, Edward Jo  
 Kt., Elizabethan dang. of Sir Drake, bur. I  
 Admiral, b. George Syd- at Up- J  
 1542, d. Nov. 12, enham, mar. church. 1  
 1596. 1584-85.

Jane, daug. of = Sir Francis Drake = Joan, daug. of Sir  
 Sir Amias bap. Sept. 16, William Strode, I  
 Bamfield, Cr. 1583. mar. 2ndly J  
 bur. Feb. baronet, d. John Trefusis, 2nd wife.  
 26, 1613. March 11, 1637.

Dorothy Drake, Sir Francis Drake, = Dorothea Mary Drake,  
 ob. infant. 2nd Bart., Col. of Horse for the Pym, bur. mar. Elize  
 Parliament, d. May 15, Crymes.  
 Jan. 5, 1661-2. 1661. O.S.P.

Francis Mary Dorothy Dorothy, = Anne, = Sir Fran  
 Drake, ob. Drake, d. Drake, bur. dang. of dang. of 3rd  
 infant, 1st Oct. 31, May 29, of Sir John Thomas 1647,  
 son. 1647. 1649. Bamfield, Boone, 15, 17.  
 1st wife. 2nd wife.

Dorothy, Gertrude, Frances, Sir Francis  
 d. young. mar. Henry, son of John mar. Henry, 4th Bart.  
 son of Sir Henry Pollex- Drake of Ivy- son of John and Nut  
 fen of Nutwell bridge, 2nd Jan. 26,  
 Court. wife.

1 Dorothy Francis Drake, Anne, Sir Francis Henry  
 ———— Capt. R.M.L.I. ob. 5th Bart., of  
 2 Prudence mar. Emblen infant. and Nutwell  
 3 Elizabeth Yeo, d. Feb. 24, 1755. O.S.P. Comptroller  
 4 Frances Board of Gre  
 5 Gertrude and Master of t  
 hold, d. Dec. 1,

Thomas Evance, = Mariana,  
 Recorder of King- b. 1764, m  
 ston-upon-Thames, June 26, 176  
 d. 1830. O.S.P.



argent; and further, that she was connected with the Crokers of Lynham, one of whom, John Croker, had been with Drake in the West Indian expedition of 1575, and had deposed to the will of Alice Drake's husband (he who was killed by the gunshot wound).

Elizabeth Gregorie was probably eighteen or nineteen years old when, at the time of her first marriage, she came to reside at Longstone, the strongly built old manor house—now a farmhouse—which is situated just below Shepstor, or Shittistor, as it was then called.

The aspect of the place can have changed but little since those days; <sup>1</sup> then, as now, it must have been wild and desolate in winter, though always with a grand and severe beauty of its own. In summer, this upland country can never have been other than most delightful. On the one hand is the far-stretching down, like a green carpet interwoven with gold, and on the other the rugged Tor standing out boldly in the clear moor air. Clustered at its base lie the little old church and a few cottages, surrounded by orchards and meadow-lands sloping away to the deep winding coombes, where the clear, cool water of the Mew splashes along over a rocky bed fringed with ferns and moss, now in the open, now between steeply rising hills whose sides are clothed with gorse and oak coppice. A very tolerable road leads to Longstone, but in the old days this was probably only a track across the moor, where ruts and rock and soft places alternated, making access thereto by no means easy except on horseback. In front of the house, where now is a rough court, there was originally an enclosed garden with a straight walk through it, leading to the deep porch by which one entered a hall, then sufficiently lofty, but since reduced to half its height and used as a kitchen. The ancient floor remains, and on it, near the door, boldly cut into the slate,

<sup>1</sup> This was written before the new Plymouth reservoir was begun.



are the large capital letters J.E. The old mullioned windows, with leaded quarries, have unfortunately been taken out quite recently, to make place for modern sashes; but notwithstanding this disfigurement and the addition of buildings of a later date, it is still easy to picture Longstone as it looked when Elizabeth Gregorie came there as a bride, and had to share the home with her mother-in-law, the dowager Madam Elford,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Roger Langford, and aunt, very likely, to the Roger Langsford <sup>2</sup> who was one of Sir Francis Drake's officers.

John Elford's married life lasted between eight and nine years. He died in August 1584, and by will appointed his wife, 'in whom he placed his onlie truste,' to be his executrix.

Elizabeth Elford must have been about twenty-six years of age when she lost her husband; his testament shows that, notwithstanding his perfect confidence in her love for him, he fully expected that she would marry again, for he desired that whilst his mother, Margaret Elford, lived, she should have, in addition to her rooms at Longstone, 'her dyett free if she would accept of it,' adding that if his widow 'did marrie again or give out living at Longstone,' his wish was that she should provide 'dyett' and lodging elsewhere for his mother. No money was bequeathed to Elizabeth Elford to meet this charge; excepting any benefit she may have gained from her executorship, she did not profit by her husband's will. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that, at the time of her marriage, in consideration of some fortune of her own, a good settlement had been made upon her, which she continued to enjoy as long as she lived.

The remaining clauses of John Elford's will have no direct

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Queen Elizabeth a married lady was styled 'Madam,' and an unmarried one 'Mistress.'

<sup>2</sup> Every man was a law unto himself as regarded the spelling of his family name. It was a common practice with brothers to make a slight difference in the orthography they adopted.

concern with the Drake family ; he made a suitable provision for his younger sons, bequeathed four shillings apiece to each of his godchildren, and desired to be buried in a vault ' beneath his pew in Shittestor Church.'

It is not known whether his widow obtained the wardship of her sons from the Court of Wards and Liveries ; but even if she did, it is easy to imagine how dreary must have been her life in the bleak old manor house, with only her aged mother-in-law and three little boys for companions. She must, too, daily have felt how difficult it was for a woman alone to manage and farm a moorland property of considerable extent.

The marriage of Thomas Drake with Elizabeth Elford took place towards the end of the year 1587, most probably when Sir Francis Drake returned from his secret mission to the Netherlands. It placed her at once amidst very different surroundings. Longstone was probably given up to caretakers, whilst the bride and bridegroom went to reside in one of his brother's houses at Plymouth.

Here all was activity and preparation. Sir Francis Drake was in the port in command of the *Revenge*, and Thomas was busy under his orders, hurrying to and fro with ammunition for the service of her Majesty. He helped also, no doubt, in the equipment of his brother's vessels and others belonging to the merchant fleet, which joined the Royal Navy and were far better provisioned than the Queen's ships when they put out together to meet the Armada.

We know that, during the days of the fight, Thomas was employed either at or near Plymouth, and, disappointing as this must have been to him, he was not without some consolation, for in the autumn, whilst thanksgiving services, bonfires, and rejoicings for the destruction of the Armada were still going on, a son was born to him and his wife. The infant was, we suppose, more than usually fragile, as he was christened on the day of his birth—September 16—at

Buckland, and named Francis after his uncle, who most likely had promised to stand sponsor for him.

In 1589 Thomas Drake was engaged in the Portugal voyage, and in 1590 his second and last child was born and named Elizabeth.

No record exists of Thomas's doings during the next five years; they must have been uneventful ones, but he cannot have been altogether out of harness.

In 1595 he was appointed to the command of H.M.S. *Adventure*, and sailed with Sir Francis Drake's squadron on the fatal Puerto Bello voyage. After the death of both the admirals, the supreme command of the expedition devolved upon Sir Thomas Baskerville, who was not a seaman, and therefore, by the desire of Sir Francis Drake, the *Defiance*, his own ship, was given to Captain Jonas Bodenham rather than to Thomas Drake, perhaps because the latter, upon the decease of Captain Gilbert Yorke, had already been promoted to the *Hope*.

Two days later the fleet set sail for England. It encountered the enemy at the Isla de Pinos, off Cuba, where there was some sharp fighting in which the Queen's ships had the advantage. In the month of April they came into Plymouth, and Thomas Drake landed as head of his family. He had done with voyages; thenceforth he remained in his own country, living chiefly at Buckland Abbey and engaged in perpetual lawsuits.

Almost immediately upon his return he fell out with his sister-in-law, Lady Drake, respecting some clauses in the codicil to her husband's will. At the same time he was harassed on all sides by those who had claims arising out of matters connected with the late expedition, and also by certain of Sir Francis's debtors, who were ready to try any device or expedient in order to avoid paying what they owed.



Thomas took legal proceedings, so did the debtors ; both employed the leading counsel of the day, and they carried their differences from court to court, with a light-hearted disregard of costs that is absolutely astonishing to think of. Indeed, in studying the family histories of those times, one of the things which much surprises us is the perpetual state of litigation in which our ancestors delighted to live.

It could only have been because Hamlet's mind was unhinged that he is represented as connecting the law's delays with thoughts of a bare bodkin ; his sane contemporaries were not deterred by such considerations, for few men of position denied themselves the luxury of a Chancery suit. Fees and refreshers perhaps were not very formidable, and the pursuit of an intricate 'case' may have afforded to the sedentary country gentleman the same sort of enjoyment that fox-hunting offers to the young and vigorous.

Thomas Drake, however, must have been either most unlucky or quite extraordinarily contentious, for besides squabbling over the gifts of plate his brother had made when dying, and being involved in difficulties with the Crown touching the expenses of the late expedition, we find him, almost immediately after his brother's death, with five important lawsuits simultaneously on his hands, whilst at the same time he was taking an active part in Plymouth municipal disputes.

As none of this litigation can be properly understood without an acquaintance with the contents of Sir Francis Drake's will and its codicil, we must give a précis of those documents.

The testament began, as was customary, with a religious preamble, but the formula was evidently dictated by the 'Warrior' himself.

Forasmuche (he says) as all men are born to die, that the time of our departure out of this mortal life is most uncertaine and that we are but here as stewardest for

the tyme to dispose of such thinges as God hath lent us, as maie be best for the glorie of his heavenlie Majestie and the welfare of our own soules ; as well as in consideration whereof, as also that I, Sir Francis Drake, of Buckland in the County of Devon, knighte, am now called into action by her Majestie, wherein I am to hazard my life as well in the defence of Christes Gospell as for the good of my Prince and Country and for that I have an intent and meaninge not only that such debtes as I owe should be trulie paid, if God should call me before I returne out of th' action, but also to give and dispose of [to] divers of my friendes and servantes, sondrie sommes of monie goodes and chatells, and to leave behinde me all thinges in decent order, to the intent no controversie or discention should after my decease arise or growe touching any of my lands, &c., &c., &c., I Sir Francis Drake having advisdlie considered of the premisses, being now in bodilie health and perfect minde and remembrance, thankes be given to Almighty God for the same, doe make my testament contaeneing my last will . . . in sure and certain hope to rise again to life eternal.

Then follow bequests :

To the poor people of Plymouth, forty pounds.

To Elizabeth his wife, all his furniture, goods and implements and household stuff whatsoever being within the doors of his mansion house at Buckland, one cup of gold and his plate only excepted, the plate to be sold for the payment of his debts ; and further to his wife for the better advancement of her jointure, the leasehold property he held of the corporation of Plymouth, being the Widdie mills, with some closes of land adjoining, and the Town Mills for her life.

To his brother Thomas, the house in Plymouth then in his occupation.

To his servant Jonas Bodenham, a hundred pounds sterling.

To his servant William Spencer,<sup>1</sup> a like sum.

<sup>1</sup> William Spencer was secretary to Sir Francis Drake, and served under him in the Cadiz expedition, of which he wrote a short but most interesting account, strongly imbued with Puritanism. The well-known letter from Sir Francis Drake to Fox, the martyrologist, may have been partly his composition, as it bears his signature as well as that of his admiral.

To his servant Thomas Rattenburie,<sup>1</sup> fifty pounds.

To his servants George Hewes, George Doble, William Baker, Roger Fley, and Dorithie, the wife of Richard Lane, to each of them twenty pounds.

To the residue of his servants being of the better sort, [these, like the above, were gentlemen in his service] ten pounds each.

To the others being of the second sort [by which he probably meant clerks, bailiffs and the like] five pounds each.

To Thomas Tozer,<sup>2</sup> servant to his brother Thomas, ten pounds.

He confirms the indenture of August 27 in favour of the attorneys therein named, and, subject to that and to the above bequests, gives all the residue of his realty and personalty to his brother, Thomas Drake.

He appoints Anthony Rouse,<sup>3</sup> William Strode, and Christopher Harris to be his executors, and his well-beloved friends and cousins, Master Richard Drake, Esq., and Thomas Barret, Archdeacon, to be the overseers of his will, and to each of them for their pains a sum of money (undefined) is bequeathed.

The will, which had been written out in the previous August, was signed, sealed and delivered on January 27, 1596,

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Rattenburie is mentioned as of Okehampton in the Herald's visitation of 1620. In Sir Francis's lifetime he appears to have resided at Buckland, for his name occurs in the Witley Court Book as having been sent for 'about the water' during the time the leat was being made. A letter amongst the State Papers rather suggests that he was not altogether free from suspicion of having diverted to his own use some of the gold which should have gone into the common stock of the adventurers in Sir Francis Drake's last voyage. This, if true, might account for the purchase of property at Okehampton.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Tozer was a gentleman, and stood in the same business relation to Thomas Drake that Captain Jonas Bodenham did to Sir Francis.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Rouse of Halton and William Strode of Newnham were already trustees of Sir Francis's marriage settlement, and Christopher Harris was the old friend at whose house, Radford, some of the treasure had been concealed in 1580. Carew, who knew Harris personally, says that he was 'unequaled in the sweetly tempered mixture of bounty and thrift, gravity and pleasantness, kindness and stoutness which graced all his actions.'



by Thomas Webbs, Roger Langsford, George Watkins, and William Maynard.

On the same day, a codicil was drawn up and signed in the presence of the same witnesses; it modified the will on three important points. In order the better to provide for the prompt payment of his debts, Sir Francis bequeathed the manor of Yacombe to his 'well beloved cousin ffrancis,' son of Richard Drake of Esher, upon condition that within two years he should pay to Thomas Drake the sum of two thousand pounds, otherwise the legacy was to be 'utterlie frustrate and of no force.'<sup>1</sup>

The manor of Samford Spiney, with all its appurtenances, was devised to Jonas Bodenham, and Thomas Drake was appointed to be whole and sole executor of his brother's will.

Both documents were proved in London by Thomas's proctor, on May 17, but no sooner was the probate granted than the validity of the codicil was disputed by Lady Drake, who instituted proceedings in the Prerogative Court to get it annulled. As she personally lost nothing by its provisions, her motive in seeking to upset it could only have been because, by the codicil, Thomas Drake was named executor, instead of Anthony Rouse and William Strode, who may have been originally chosen at her suggestion. They were old and intimate friends of hers, and were evidently inclined to favour her at the expense of her brother-in-law; for among the family muniments there is an unexecuted indenture in their names, dated August 3, 1596, wherein they grant to Lady Drake the immediate enjoyment of the mill rents bequeathed her by her husband, instead of detaining them for five years towards the payment of his debts.

Thomas very naturally objected to this arrangement as likely to diminish the 'surplusage' which was to come to him; hence the suit. Judgment was given in his favour; conse-

<sup>1</sup> This was an offer of the property at two-thirds of its value.

quently, Anthony Rouse and William Strode had no more to do with the settlement of Sir Francis's affairs, and very soon we find Thomas Drake himself at issue with the creditors. They were pressing, and till Thomas could come to an arrangement with Richard Drake of Esher, it was not easy to pay them.

But Richard was not at all amenable. To begin with, he seems to have been short of money, and in addition he was, without doubt, much disappointed at the contents of Sir Francis Drake's will, which only named him in one place, and that so ambiguously as to leave him dependent on the good will of the executor for any benefit he might get. No legacy was bequeathed to him; but Sir Francis appointed him in conjunction with Archdeacon Barret to be one of the overseers of his will, adding the following words: 'I give to each of them for their paines herein the sum of . . . of lawful money of England,' leaving the space blank which should have been filled in with the specified amount of the bequest. Consequently Richard could have claimed only just so much money as his 'paines' or labour were worth; and with our knowledge of Thomas Drake's character, we should not have been surprised to find that he handed to the overseers some usual sum, such as £50 or £100, and no more.

But Richard was not to be so easily conciliated. He found a way of fixing his own remuneration by refusing to part with the 'goods and chattles in his keeping' which belonged to Sir Francis, unless he was paid for them. To this Thomas consented, although, as he said, they should rightfully have been given up to him as executor, without any payment whatever.

Having dealt thus handsomely with his brother's friend, Thomas very naturally expected that, as the Esher Drakes had always hankered for the manor of Yarcombe, they would quickly take advantage of the clause in Sir Francis's codicil relating to that property, and purchase it for the very moderate sum of £2,000. But Richard and his son Francis

purposely delayed matters, and consequently Thomas had to make other arrangements for procuring the money he required to settle Sir Francis Drake's affairs.

The first, and probably the most exacting, creditor was the Queen, for Elizabeth abated/not one jot from what was owing to the Crown. She may even have had more than was equitably due to her, for in each of the last four expeditions commanded by Sir Francis Drake, he and other private adventurers had supplied a very great part of the cost, whilst in consideration of her royal approval and the protection afforded by the co-operation of her ships of war, the Queen claimed the largest share of the profits. Some of these matters were not fully determined when the unfortunate West Indian expedition returned; and, owing to the action of Jonas Bodenham, who either could not or would not produce the books showing the state of his Admiral's public and private accounts, Thomas Drake had to pay large sums of money to the Government, without being able to satisfy himself as to the justice of the claims, or as to the amount of his brother's money (presumably still in Bodenham's hands) which should have been delivered to him as residuary legatee and executor.

According to Thomas's own statement, he showed great patience with Bodenham, 'many times in frindly manner' asking for the delivery of the money which he believed to be due to him; but getting neither explanation nor satisfaction, Thomas presently took legal proceedings against Bodenham for £20,000, and only lost the case, he said, because, for want of Sir Francis Drake's ledgers, he was unable to show which were the sums that had been accounted for, and which still remained owing.

Nothing daunted, he forthwith entered a fresh bill of complaint against Bodenham, and in the course of it some very curious allegations were made. The statement began by



describing the friendless condition of Jonas Bodenham's infancy, when, having no other relief or maintenance, he was brought up at the charges of Sir Francis Drake, who trained him to be his receiver and placed great confidence in him, entrusting to his care many large sums of money, ' amounting at divers tymes to £100,000 at the leaste, which sums [Thomas Drake alleges] he was content not onlie to waste the same at cardes, dice and other like games, playing away sometymes many hundred pounds at once, but did also lend and lay out part thereof to his own use and behoof; and although Sir Francis did often require Bodenham to yield accounts, yet could he never procure the same'; for, when the latter 'perceived himself to be behind hand, and that he could not well delay his account any longer by ordinary evasions, he voluntarily destroyed some of his own as well as of his master's papers, bills and books of account, fayning and affirming to his said master that his chamber was sett of fyer so that he was not able to yield any account at all. Whereupon Sir Francis, not distrusting any such shiftes, continued his good opinion of him, after which the said Bodenham imboldened as it seemeth by the success of his former practices, continued in his reckonings to growe backward. He entered into a great purchase in Ireland not long before Sir Francis his last departure out of England, and disbursed for the same about fifteen hundred pounds of his master's money, purporting, as it seemeth, to prepare a place of refuge in tyme to come, but kept the same secret from his master, lest he should thereby be hastened to call for his accounts'; and shortly before Sir Francis sailed, 'when he again required to have knowledge of the same,' Bodenham assured him 'that the receipts and disbursements had been so great that his accounts would be intricate and tedious, and that withall himself had so justly and faithfully discharged his duty in his master's service, that it was not needful at that tyme to enter into so intricate a

labour; whereupon the said Sir Francis giving creditt thereunto, deferred his account tyll the daye of his death; at which tyme he sent for Bodenham, and caused him to give him his hand and plight his faithful promise to Thomas that he would deal faithfully with him and would help him in all his troubles. And then before his death, upon the special trust and confidence he had in Bodenham, he made him captain of the ship wherein he then was, leaving in the ship divers books of accounts, writings, excripts and muniments of great importance and other goods and chattes of great value,' all of which things, Thomas Drake declared, Bodenham got into his possession and custody, and that he displaced some of the ship's officers from their appointments because they refused to give up to him quietly books and papers which they would willingly have delivered to Thomas himself. Therefore he prayed that the Court would order Bodenham by a certain day to produce the accounts which he detained, and for want of which the last will and testament of Sir Francis Drake remained, and was likely to remain, unexecuted, and many of the legacies unpaid.

Bodenham lost no time in filing an answer to this bill of complaint. He acknowledged it to be true that at various times large sums of money had passed through his hands as receiver to Sir Francis Drake, but said that it was not possible for him to recall perfectly what they were, as he had long ago, and by many reckonings, delivered an account of them to Sir Francis in his lifetime. He added that Mr. Richard Drake, Mr. William Strode, and Sir Richard Martyn (a rich jeweller and banker of the City of London) had all deposed to the truth of this. He admitted that he had purchased property in Ireland, but declared that it was with the full knowledge of Sir Francis, and that he had paid for it with his own money. He denied that he had ever gambled at his master's expense, and said that he could not give over any

books of accounts, writings, or deeds, because he had none in his custody ; neither had he ever displaced or punished any officers on board his ship except for ‘ embesseling of victuals, stores, &c., which belonged to the Queen’s Majesty,’ and that as to breaking open chests, trunks, and hampers, it was not he, but Thomas Drake himself, who, ‘ before the breath was out of the body of Sir Francis, fell on to Ryfling and getting together of all such chiestes, so that he left nothing in any good sort for the gentlemen of Sir Francis in manner suitable to his reputation and condition.’

To this answer Thomas Drake by his counsel presented a ‘ replication,’ pointing out that Mr. Richard Drake, Mr. Strode, and Sir Richard Martyn had not deposed as a fact that Bodenham had settled his accounts with Sir Francis Drake, but merely said ‘ that they did think so, by reason that they had each of them great dealings with Sir Francis, and never heard him speak of any debt or money due to him from Bodenham, and because, by his last will and testament he left him legacies and never mentioned any arrearages of account.’ Thomas Drake therefore again prayed that Bodenham might be ordered to produce his ‘ books of accounts and other deeds of importance of which he had gotten possession from divers of Sir Francis Drake’s frindes in Devonshire and elsewhere.’ He reiterated all his former allegations against Bodenham, adding that he was in a position to prove them, and he qualified as slanderous untruths the latter’s statement ‘ that he fell to Ryfling his brother’s chiestes before the breath was out of his body ’ ; but, significantly enough, he made no reply as to his ungenerous treatment of Sir Francis Drake’s ‘ gentlemen.’

Here the records of the proceedings break off abruptly. There is no evidence that any judgment was pronounced by the Court, and we are left to form our own conclusions as to the rights and wrongs of the case.



We may consider it established that Bodenham was a gambler, and that there was once a fire in his chamber which destroyed valuable bills and reckonings ; but that these were ever so vastly in arrear as Thomas Drake suspected is not likely, for Sir Francis was too thorough a man of business either to have been put off with perpetual excuses, or to have delayed looking into his accounts with the Crown, merely because they were intricate and tedious.

The most favourable thing that can be said for Bodenham is that Sir Francis Drake (no mean judge of men) had a good opinion of him and did not believe that the passion for gambling had led him into being guilty of dishonourable evasions. As a naval commander, it is evident that Sir Francis thought more highly of Bodenham than of Thomas Drake, else when dying he would not have promoted the former over the head of his brother. Thomas, most likely, jealously resented this preference and the bequest to Bodenham of Samford Spiney ; and hence may have arisen all those disobliging actions and bitter accusations between men who, for many reasons, should have remained closely united.

No reconciliation appears to have taken place between them, and yet, in July 1601, we find Bodenham selling his small manor of Samford Spiney to Thomas Drake. The intense dislike these two had for each other forbids us to suppose that the sale was a friendly or voluntary one, and the only explanation we can suggest is that, Thomas having succeeded in proving all or part of his claim against Bodenham, the latter had to meet it ; when, having gambled away the money entrusted to him, he had no choice but to part with the property his benefactor had bequeathed to him.

The extent of this parish, much of which is still unenclosed moorland, is 1,274 acres ; the manorial rights and one-third of the fee-simple belonged to Sir Francis, in whose time the estimated value of the lands was ‘ three pounds annually

beyond reprises.' Then and for long after there was, we believe, only one house on the manor, and that an unimportant one, for the Inquisition held after Sir Francis Drake's death does not mention the existence of a mansion or barton there. The very interesting old house, the only residence at all near the church, was not erected until 1610, but it probably occupies the site of a smaller dwelling which was there when Sir Francis acquired the demesne.

Whilst the suit of *Drake v. Bodenham* was at its height, and Thomas was in great straits for money, proceedings were taken against him by John, eldest son of Sir Bernard Drake of Ash, who wished to evade paying a debt due to Sir Francis's estate.

John Drake's bill of complaint sets forth that many years previously, his father, Sir Bernard, had mortgaged his patrimonial estate of Ash to Sir Francis, and that he had died without repaying either principal or interest; but that since that time he, John, the son, had repaid the principal sum borrowed and part of the interest, and that thereupon he had requested Sir Francis to give him back his title deeds, which the latter had declined to do (having deposited them with Sir Richard Martyn as security for an advance of the sum due on them), but that before his last departure Sir Francis promised, 'giving him his word in £1000,' that if he made a saving voyage, the documents should be returned to him without any further disbursement whatever. Accordingly, John Drake declined to pay the remainder of his debt and sued Thomas for the return of the title deeds, declaring that when all Sir Francis's liabilities were met, Thomas would still have about five thousand pounds to the good; that, therefore, the voyage had been a saving one, and that, if Sir Francis had lived, he would assuredly have kept his word and promise.

To all of which Thomas contented himself by replying that he had not got the title deeds in question, and that if he had,

or if Sir Richard Martyn had them, they ought not to be compelled to give them up until John Drake had paid his debt, and that as to the said promise, although he had never heard of it in his brother's lifetime, he was well able to prove that Sir Francis had not made a saving voyage, but that, on the contrary, he had lost seven or eight thousand pounds by the undertaking.

The records of the conclusion of this case have not been preserved, but John Drake found means to keep his estate, and with it an undying grudge against Thomas for compelling him to fulfil his obligations.

Whilst these suits were being fought out with all possible acrimony, another, which had been begun between Thomas Drake and Lady Margaret Hawkins, widow of his cousin, Sir John Hawkins, was taken out of court and settled amicably. We do not know the nature of the differences between them further than that they arose out of their respective executorships (she acting for her husband and he for his brother), but it appears that, after a somewhat prolonged controversy, they accepted the arbitration of Marmaduke Darell, Esq., William Stallenge of Plymouth, Roger Langford of Deptford, gentlemen, and John Newton of London, mercer.

We may now turn aside for a while from the history of wearisome litigation, and give some account of the 'Inquisitio post mortem' which was held upon Sir Francis Drake's estates.

As a rule only a very short time was permitted to elapse between the demise of a landowner and the Inquisition, but the one which took cognisance of Sir Francis's affairs was delayed until November 3, 1598. It was held at Tavistock in the presence of John Blachford, Esq., County Escheator, and of a jury taken, as was usual, from the county in which the deceased had resided, and likely therefore to be well informed as to the tenure upon which his lands were held.



## GENTLEMEN.

- William Crymes, Esq. (Of Crapstone in the Parish of Buckland.)
- William Maynard. (One of the Sherford family.)
- Hugh Elford. (Brother-in-law of Thomas Drake's wife.)
- Richard Langsford. (Of Bratton Clovelly possibly, but a family of the same name was seated not far from Buckland, in the parish of Tamerton Foliot.)
- John Scawen. (One of the feoffees of Tavistock charity lands and mentioned as a parishioner.)
- Thomas Peter. (Younger brother of John Peter of Bohay, M.P. for Dartmouth in the reign of Queen Mary.)
- Thomas Lybb. (From 1426 to 1602, this name, now extinct, is frequently met with in the Tavistock parish registers.)

## MERCHANTS.

- William Grylles. (Of Tavistock ; his wife was Alice Maynard of Sherford.)
- Matthew Edgecumbe. (Of Tavistock, scion of a younger branch of the Mount Edgecumbe family.)
- Walter Masters. (Of Tavistock.)

## YEOMEN.

John Upcott, Walter Pointer, and John Prideaux.

The jurors found that the manors of Buckland, Sherford, and Yarcombe were held by knight's service direct from the Crown, and that the manor of Samford Spiney was held from the Earl of Devon, but by what payment they could not say.

The Inquisition recites the terms of the settlement made by Sir Francis on his marriage with Elizabeth Sydenham, by which he endowed her with all those manors for her life : it states that Thomas Drake 'was forty years and more' at the time of his brother's death, and that Lady Drake was then in full health and residing at Buckland.

The object of the Inquisition was to secure the rights of the Crown. There was no land in England (as Coke tells us) but was originally held of some lord by some kind of service. Each landowner who held his estates *in capite*, that is, direct from the Crown, did so on condition of rendering military service at the royal call. 'He who held by the service of one knight's fee had (if he were between the ages of fifteen and sixty years) to be with the King for forty days well and conveniently arrayed for the war, and he who had more, more, and he who had less, less.'<sup>1</sup> But long before Queen Elizabeth's time this limited service had been found inconvenient, and those who wished to evade it were at liberty to do so upon the payment of a sum of money levied under the name of escuage. No tenant *in capite* could sell or alienate any portion of his estate without the royal permission, 'and the King took benefit to have a fine for his licence.'

When the larger estates were subdivided by their owners, the sub-tenants were bound to their lords by the same conditions of military tenure, and did fealty to them, just as each Crown tenant once in his life did homage to the king for his holding.

'The lands of those who died without heirs fell back to the Crown by escheat, and upon the death of a landowner, who was either childless or whose heirs were under age, it was the duty of the escheator to summon a jury, who by inquest found the title of the King and returned it into the exchequer: it then became a matter of record and could not be impeached.'<sup>2</sup> If the jury found that the heir of the tenant *in capite* was too young to bear arms, his wardship fell to the king, and upon his attaining his majority he must sue livery of his lands,

<sup>1</sup> A knight was to be equipped with a coat of mail, a helmet and a lance; the full complement of each knight, including himself and two men-at-arms, was about six men. His archers were armed with a steel cap, a bow and arrow, a sword and a leaden mallet.—Grove's *Military Antiquities*.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam's *Constitutional History*.

which was half a year's profit of his lands holden, but if he were of full age at the time of the death of his ancestor—as was the case with Thomas Drake—then he had to pay for his estates in possession, a year's profit for premier seisin.

In cases where real property came to an heiress under the age of sixteen, the king could grant her wardship and marriage to whom he would. The guardian to whom she was granted took upon himself the military duties for which her estate was liable. In return he had the unaccountable enjoyment of her revenues until her marriage or sixteenth year, or until her twenty-first if she refused the husband he proposed for her. She would then have to pay a further heavy fine before she could get possession of her estates.

In the present instance, as the heir of entail, Thomas Drake, was competent to take upon himself the responsibilities of knight's service, nothing was required of Lady Drake. Unless she chose to marry again, she could continue to reside at Buckland Abbey without the payment of any fine whatever, and here during her widowhood, which was a short one, she seems to have remained.

She was apparently still in the prime of life, for in 1596 a poem was published by the Reverend Charles Fitzgeoffrey, dedicated 'to the beauteous and virtuous Lady Elizabeth, late wife unto the highly renowned Sir Francis Drake deceased.' It commences with the lines,

Divorced by death but wedded still by love,  
For love by death can never be divorced,  
Lo England's Dragon (thy true turtle dove)  
To seek his mate is now again enforced.

Fitzgeoffrey must have been well acquainted with Sir Francis and Lady Drake, and had many opportunities of observing their attachment to each other, as he was incumbent of St. Dominic's, Cornwall, and intimate with Anthony Rouse and his family.



The old home of the Rouses, now a farm and much altered, is situated on the banks of the river Tamar. It is within an easy distance by boat from Buckland Abbey—little more than an hour's row—and we may be sure that the friends saw a good deal of each other. Richard Carew describes Halton as

the pleasant and commodious dwelling of Anthony Rouse, Esq., both which benefits he employeth to a kind and uninterrupted entertainment of such as visit him, upon his not sparing, inviting, or their own occasions; who (without the self guilt of an ungrateful wrong) must witness that his frankness confirmeth their welcome, by whatsoever means provision, the fuel of hospitality, can in the best manner supply.

Lady Drake's personal attractions must have been considerable if she resembled the portrait said to have been preserved at Coombe Sydenham,<sup>1</sup> and she had other very substantial endowments, for in addition to her life interest in the manors of Buckland, Sherford, Yarcombe, and Samford Spiney, she was also sole heiress in expectation to the valuable estate of Coombe Sydenham in Somersetshire.

With these numerous advantages it would have been surprising if suitors had not quickly presented themselves. In those days, when heiresses married early and often, the duration of a widow's mourning seems to have depended very much on the amount of her fortune. It was by no means unusual for one who was well dowered to commence negotiations for her second or third nuptials within a few months of the decease of her last husband. Romance, which had rarely much to do with these unions, was probably entirely absent in Lady Drake's case, for her second husband was Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, a widower of forty-three years of age, with a large family of sons and

<sup>1</sup> This picture is in the possession of the Dowager Lady Heathcote of Hursley.

daughters ; one of these about this time espoused Lady Drake's first cousin, John Fitz of Fitzford, for whose Lewisham property Sir Francis Drake had been trustee ; whilst the youngest of Sir William's children could not have been more than four years old.

His marriage with Lady Drake took place most likely quite at the end of 1597 ; at any rate, it was before January 10, 1598, for on that day Sir George Sydenham made his will, and in it he mentions his daughter as Lady Elizabeth Courtenay. Here, probably, is the explanation of Lady Drake's short widowhood. If her father was in failing health, which seems most likely as he died soon afterwards, to marry again may have been the wisest thing she could do, for once in possession of lands held directly from the Crown, she would no longer have enjoyed quite the same liberty of choice. It was one of the functions of the Court of Wards and Liveries 'to tax and assess widows that marry again without the king's licence,' and instances had not been infrequent, in past reigns, where the Crown had brought very strong pressure to bear upon widows possessed of fair estates to compel them to bestow themselves and their lands upon needy courtiers whom the sovereign desired to reward. It is possible, too, that the loneliness of a widow's life at Buckland was unsuitable to her temperament, so she may not have needed much persuasion. Mrs. Fitz, her aunt and near neighbour, was then busy arranging the match between her son and Sir William's daughter, and she may well have had something to do with the promotion of her niece's marriage also.

Sir George Sydenham did not long survive his daughter's establishment at Powderham. She proved her father's will in London on May 29, 1598 ; and then some sudden illness must have befallen her, for, on the twelfth of the following June, her cousin, Walter Sydenham, obtained letters

of administration 'to goods not administered by Dame Elizabeth Courtenay now deceased,' so that she must have died between May 29 and June 12, 1598, thus only outliving Sir Francis Drake by two years and five months.

To Thomas Drake the death of his sister-in-law made a great deal of difference; he could now use his house in Plymouth High Street as a business or winter residence, and make his home in the delightful, spacious old Abbey, surrounded by stately trees and a deer park; and with this change in his circumstances there came about a corresponding alteration in his views. Being a good many years older than Lady Drake, he could scarcely have expected to come personally into possession of his brother's estates, and therefore, as the creditors were pressing, it had at first seemed to him that it would be very desirable to obtain the two thousand pounds that Francis Drake of Esher was to pay for the manor of Yarcombe, within two years of Sir Francis Drake's death, if he wished to acquire it. The offer was a valuable one, presenting to the young man the chance of purchasing an estate on the basis of getting a return of ten per cent. for his outlay, and Thomas never doubted that he would take advantage of it; yet, whenever Richard and Francis were pressed to conclude the business, they delayed. The fact was that, though very keen for the purchase, they were disinclined to pay the price, and, knowing all about Thomas's difficulties, they felt they might safely take their time and beat him down. So they only offered £1,500, about half the real value, as they themselves allowed some years later. These hard terms Thomas was reluctantly compelled to accept; but he made one stipulation—that the sum agreed upon was to be paid by a certain date. It so chanced, however, that when the settling day arrived, payment was tendered not in money but in the bonds of a third party (promises to pay) which Thomas Drake's attorney declined



to receive ; consequently, the time expired during which the purchase was to have been completed.

Then came Lady Courtenay's sudden death, which disburdened the estates and relieved Thomas of his most pressing difficulties ; so he declared the bargain off.

Richard and Francis now woke up to the fact that by prolonging the negotiations they had overreached themselves, and whilst fully recognising the increased value of what they had lost, they nevertheless offered nothing more, but tried to compel Thomas to accept the proffered bonds. He most firmly declined them, for he no longer wanted to sell his manor, and, if forced to part with it, was resolved to be paid in money and not in promises.

It is impossible to say how this affair might have ended, for the case was withdrawn. Thomas offered Francis £1,500 down, in full satisfaction of his 'legacy,' as he termed it, provided that he and his father, who acted for him during his minority, would give up all claim to a right of purchasing Yarcombe. And to this the father and son assented. Thus this property was saved to the family, but not without another very narrow escape, for, in the full belief that Francis would avail himself of his power of purchase, Thomas had neglected, after the Inquisition made on his brother's estates, to take any of the steps he should have done in the Court of Wards and Liveries, to secure himself in the possession of the manor of Yarcombe ; consequently, it was now declared to be forfeited to the Crown. From this fresh disaster he was rescued by an appeal to the kindness of Queen Elizabeth, and upon his petition and the payment of a fine of £279 8s. 3d. (equal to premier seisin repeated for each one of the years during which it had remained owing), a grant of the manor of Yarcombe was made out to him and his heirs, on February 19, 1603, to hold the same direct from the Crown on the payment of the sixtieth part of a knight's fee.

The deed mentions that the manor 'had heretofore appertained to the Monastery of Zion in Middlesex, at which time the annual value thereof had been extended to forty-six pounds eight shillings and a penny,'<sup>1</sup> and Thomas was to enjoy the same in as full and ample a manner as the Abbess or Abbot might have done, with all its privileges and appurtenances, amongst which are enumerated the great and small tithes, estrays, goods and chattels of *felons de se*, knight's fees, wards and marriages, bond men and women, and villeins with their followers, as well as such smaller matters as tolls, dovecotes, fishings, common lands, &c., the mere enumeration of which shows us how intimately the system of tenure by knight's service entered into the life of every English family. The subject is an interesting one, and we shall have to recur to it before we have quite done with the history of Thomas Drake's lawsuits; but for the moment we must dismiss it in order to relate the events of his life as nearly as possible in their actual sequence.

<sup>1</sup> Which the document states to be no longer the actual value, although it was to stand at that.

## CHAPTER II

THERE is in the Plymouth 'Black Book' the following laconic entry for the year 1599: 'A great controversie through wrongs offered to the Town by Mr. Crymes touching our river.' Into this lively affair, as a member of the Town Council, as tenant of the Town Mills, and still more as a neighbour of Mr. Crymes, Thomas Drake flung himself heart and soul.

It was thus not entirely his own quarrel, but in partnership, as it were, with the Corporation of Plymouth, which made it more exciting and important.

The cause of all the trouble was that about this time some mines had been opened upon Roborough Down by the lord of the manor, Mr. Crymes of Crapstone, who, in order to work them, had at his own will and pleasure diverted the water from the leat. To this the corporation very naturally objected, and so did Thomas Drake on account of his mills. But Mr. Crymes was not an easy person to deal with, as he could claim the protection of the Stannary Courts if any attempt were made to interfere with the working of his mine.

It must be remembered that tin was a royal metal, and so important to the Crown that the miners were protected by special legislation, and in matters respecting their calling subject only to the jurisdiction of the Stannary Courts. They had their own laws and their own parliament, and in Devonshire enjoyed even greater privileges than elsewhere,



for they could work for tin on any man's land and attach any man's water supply without compensation given. They were often very tyrannical; few towns, and certainly no private person, could have the least chance of success in contending with them. Tin mines abounded on and about Roborough Down, and for this reason, when the Plymouth leat was about to be cut, it had been necessary to conciliate the powerful interest of the tanners. The popularity and prestige of Sir Francis Drake enabled him to do this, aided to some extent possibly by the influence of his kinsman, Richard Drake of Tavistock, who was himself an owner of several mines and two knocking mills in the district. Sir Francis's success was largely due to the very liberal terms of composition he offered, namely, sixteen years' purchase to the owners of the land, and the same amount to the sitting tenants; equivalent to paying for the land twice over.

These terms Mr. Crymes, like the rest, had accepted; but, naturally enough, in the Act of Parliament obtained by the corporation, which gave to this body the absolute possession of the stream, not one word was said empowering it to override the jurisdiction of the Stannary Courts. However, as the municipality felt that their town was being wronged, they resolved to make a fight for it. Mr. Tozer, Thomas Drake's man of business, was made attorney to the town, and a commission was appointed, with Thomas Drake at its head, to look after the interest of the corporation.

The appointment was a very suitable one. Buckland Abbey is quite near to Roborough Down, and still nearer to Crapstone, so Thomas could easily keep a watch on his neighbour's doings; and as often as Mr. Crymes turned the water on to his clash mills, so often Thomas rode out with two attendants, armed with picks and shovels, and turned the stream back again 'into his lawful course.'

This kind of thing could not go on indefinitely without provoking reprisals. Mr. Crymes had his legal remedy and took it, in the Stannary Courts, where Thomas Drake and others were seven or eight times amerced for diverting the water from his clash mills. But fines shared by the corporation did not affect Thomas very deeply, and his adversary bethought himself of a far more effective means of retaliation. He gave out that he was about to apply to Charles, Lord Mountjoy, then Lord Deputy in Ireland, for a lease of the fishing on the Beerferrers side of the river Tavy, which the late Lord Mountjoy had granted to Sir Francis Drake for life on nominal terms,<sup>1</sup> 'for kindness done him.' Although the lease had expired, Thomas Drake had not been disturbed in the enjoyment of the fishery, and there is a genuine note of alarm in the letter he hastily penned to Lord Mountjoy on the subject. After setting forth the great charges Sir Francis had been at in making the weir, and erecting a small mill on the Buckland side of the stream 'for the grinding of such corn and grain as he should spend in his own house,' Thomas reminds Lord Mountjoy that upon his brother's death he had asked 'to have a further estate' in the same fishing, which had been promised him; since which time he had enjoyed it as before, but now he begs that he may have a lease, and says:

I am ready to satisfy such yearly rent or consideration as your Honour's officers for that place shall be pleased to set down in any reasonable sort herein, and am very well contented that whenever your lordship shall come into the country or make any residence at your Honor's manor of Beerferrers, you shall have the whole fishing at your Honor's own pleasure and command. My house and park shall always be ready to entertain your lordship and your Hon<sup>rs</sup>. officers whenever your good lordship shall be pleased to come, or send into that country, and myself will rest ready

<sup>1</sup> The terms were 'two shillings yearly, and six salmons at seasonable tymes.'

to do your lordship all the service I may. But so it is, [and here Thomas puts on the most innocent air, in the well-founded belief that the Lord Deputy had much too important business on his hands to have followed the history of Plymouth water squabbles] But so it is that Mr. William Crymes of Buckland, bearing a very malicious and envious mind against me and my estate, without any just cause ever given him on my part, seeketh by all the means he can to raise contention, suits and quarrels against me, and having no other sufficient matter whereon to work his malice, goeth about by his friends to solicit your lordship for a lease of the fishing, as I am informed, (he well knowing the exceeding great charge my brother and myself have been at about the wear and doing reparations thereon, by means whereof the fishing is now become an yearly benefit to your lordship, whereas before our charges bestowed upon it, it was a matter of no value or moment) of very purpose, spleen and malice to pull down my said mill, and that being done, he intendeth to make a wear further up the same river, on his own land, and so by means thereof within time to draw the fishing unto himself, which will be to your Hon<sup>rs</sup>. disinherison, for if this wear had never been made, Mr. Crymes would never have been suitor to your Honor for the lease of this fishing, for that he pretendeth that the fishing above the wear belongeth to himself. I desire not your lordship's disadvantage or loss herein, but am willing to give as much or rather more than it is worth or than any man else will give, to the end that I may remain your lordship's tenant and free myself from the contentions of mine enemy . . . and that the same be not granted to mine adversary, Mr. Crymes, who seeketh it of very purpose to effect his own malicious designments against me, whereof I hope your good lordship will have an honourable consideration . . . and would be pleased to signify your pleasure unto your officer herein. With my prayers to the Almighty for your health, Victory and increase of Honours, do humbly take my leave from my poor house at Buckland in Devon, this 28th day of October, 1601.

Charles, Lord Mountjoy was probably but slightly, if at all, acquainted with Thomas Drake, for he never resided at



Beer Barton as his father and stepmother, and occasionally perhaps his brother William, had done. He was fortunate enough, on leaving the University, to be noticed by Queen Elizabeth, who was at first attracted by his tall figure, 'sweet face and most neate composure,' but soon discovered that beneath this pleasing exterior he had solid and valuable qualities. She kept him about her court, or at least as much as possible, for 'he had an inclination to arms, with a humour to travelling and gadding,'<sup>1</sup> and finally she advanced him to be Lord Deputy of Ireland, where, at the time this letter was written, he was actively employed in expelling the Spaniards from the country, and in compelling the rebel Tyrone and his associates to submit.

The quiet little village of Beerferrers, where some of his boyish days may have been spent, and the jealousies of the country neighbours there, were far out of the range of his interests; he did not give Thomas Drake the lease he asked for, but neither did he allow him to be disturbed in the enjoyment of the fishing he so much prized, which remained with the Drake family for a long period of years.

The 'great controversie' continued to rage for a considerable time, but the climax was reached when, one summer morning in 1602, Thomas Drake, acting for the corporation, in company with his stepson, Walter Elford, and attended by two servants, 'took occasion to walk on Roborough Down and view the stream, and how and where it was turned towards the new mills of Mr. Crymes; with the intent to set it back again.' Here, while standing on the highway close to the banks of the leat, he was met by Mr. Crymes, attended by two men armed with daggers and carrying 'gribble staves' four feet long, shod with sharp iron spikes, 'and was in very ryotous and unlawful sort with stood by them,' so that, being himself unarmed, he was forced to return without effecting

<sup>1</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*, Harl. Misc.

his purpose. Somewhat later in the day, when Thomas's servants had set the water right and were by their master's orders standing a little way off to watch if any came on the part of Mr. Crymes to divert it again, they were arrested by the orders of the latter, and brought before him at his tin mills; where, sitting in judgment upon his prisoners, he ordered the bailiffs to put them 'upon a bare ridged horse, & tye their leggs under the horse's belley, and so to carry them along to the prison of Lidford, and to leave them there, saying that was Lidford lawe.' And lest the men should be bailed before they came to the prison, Mr. Crymes desired that they should 'be carried not the directest waye, but another and more further and unusual waye, where meeting by chaunce with their master they were bailed, otherwise they had been laid up in prison' and dieted on bread and water until it pleased the Stannary Court to release them. 'First hang and draw, then hear the cause by Lidford law,' is an ancient Devonshire proverb, which, no doubt, afforded matter for reflexion to the two prisoners as they were carried along.

These high-handed proceedings formed the subject of a Star Chamber indictment, but nothing came of it; and the end of the whole affair was that the substance of victory remained with Mr. Crymes, for, wearied of contention, the corporation were at last glad to come to terms with him on the basis of an agreement drawn up by Mr. Sergeant Hele—that he should pay an acknowledgment of one shilling yearly for the use of the water, and undertake always to leave a plentiful stream in the leat, for the supply of the town and the Town Mills.

This conclusion being happily arrived at, the Mayor of Plymouth celebrated the occasion by spending five pounds on a 'dynner to Sir John Hele, Mr. Crymes and Mr. Drake, when they came about the watercourse,' and peace of a lasting

character was then apparently inaugurated between the parties, for after this time we hear no more of Drake and Crymes dissensions, but, on the contrary, a close alliance was by and by established between the families.

Another country lawsuit into which Thomas entered *con amore* was one by which he sought to obtain an injunction in Chancery against the Reverend Thomas Major, Vicar of the parish of Yarcombe. This was a tithe case, and to go into all its details would be tedious, but the preamble or argument of it so clearly shows the precise fussiness of Thomas Drake's disposition, that it ought not to be omitted from these family records.

The vicarial tithes of Yarcombe were at that time paid in kind; the tithing of lambs had to be delivered on St. Mark's day; that of pigs on the fourteenth day after their birth; other things, such as the tithing of fowls and geese, at different times; and the perpetual collection of these small dues had become a worry to the Vicar.

Apparently he had not thought of the happy expedient adopted by the Rector of Meavy, who at regular intervals caused his tithe-paying parishioners to assemble in the church, 'where, casting his eyes upon the crucifix,' each one had to declare in the presence of the others how many little pigs and how many colts or lambs, &c., had been born on his holding since the previous meeting. Customs differed in various parishes, but the Vicar of Yarcombe knew that many of his brethren found comfort in compounding, and therefore (to quote the words of Thomas Drake's complaint) 'in order to bring greater comodotye to himself, he devysed a plott to deale with the parishioners to let them their tythes for a yearly rent certain, culling his pretence with a fayer shew that he sought only to free himself from the troble and business of collecting his tythes, whereby he might be better able to applye himself to studye and function; which fayer pretence



after he had drawn the inhabitants to be inclined to it, he became a suetor to Thomas Drake for his consent, who liked verrie well of it, if it might be done without impeachment of the auncient custome.' Thomas accordingly made out a scheme that the Vicar should let out the tythes for a fixed annual payment of £34, to four farmers : these persons were to recoup themselves by collecting the dues in kind for their own use, in the old way. But the parson, 'mynding nothing lesse than the performance of the agreement, delte severally with the tenants and leased to them their tythes at several rents, without mentioning the auncient custome, which consisting in the brestes of auncient men, was like to dye and peryshe with the same,' if it were not prevented in due time by an order from the Court, &c.<sup>1</sup>

The really interesting feature of this suit is the record it affords of all the householders in the parish of Yarcombe nearly three hundred years ago. Some of the same names are still flourishing there : Matthews, Spiller, Parris, Pavey, and Knight, all farmed lands in Yarcombe then, and men of the same names are farmers there now. It is not the yeoman, but the class above, that has disappeared. Three families were then resident in Yarcombe who were entitled to write 'gentleman' after their names—the Martyns of Sheafhayne, the Woods of Panshayne, and the Frys of Rooshayne ; all these are completely gone and extinct, and their lands now form part of the Drake property.

The same change may be observed in almost every part of Devonshire. In all purely agricultural or pastoral parishes, where three or four gentlemen's families were seated, but one, or two at most, will now be found. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century owners of these old places were not wealthy people ; their homes were not pretentious, but they were well and solidly built, and had for the most part

<sup>1</sup> *Chancery Proceedings, Drake v. Major, 1601.*

handsome entrances and square-headed mullion windows of dressed granite or Ham Hill stone. The approach from the road—for the small manor houses were rarely far from one, as seclusion was not prized in those days—was by a straight walk through an enclosed court or garden. In the interior, the hall, usually wainscoted with oak and paved with stone, was the principal room; but even that was not as a rule large, as we count large rooms. In some of the oldest houses, newel staircases of stone, or portions of them, still remain; but this is the exception, rather wide, well-proportioned oak stairs being not infrequent.

Most of these old houses are snugly tucked under the shelter of a wooded hill, but although they rarely command an extensive view—for that was the last thing their builders thought of, water and ‘a lew place’ being the chief considerations in selecting the site for a residence—there is a picturesque charm about them and the quiet dignity of perfect appropriateness which we miss in modern buildings of the same class. A great many, altered and spoiled, are now farm-houses; but some, such as Sheafhayne, remain much in their ancient condition, and by showing us what the homes of the lesser country gentry were like, give us an idea of their way of living. Younger sons of good families settled down on these small bartons, farmed their own lands, and lived much on the produce of them, married their sons and daughters to their near neighbours and carefully recorded their coat armour and alliances every time the Heralds made their visitation.

This generally happened at intervals of about twenty years, at which time a declaration would be published by Clarencieux or Rouge Croix, to the effect that ‘the Queen had authorized him to visit the West parts of the realm, to survey all arms, pedigrees and marriages of the nobility and gentry, and to make infamous those who had unlawfully

assumed them ; and to forbid such as had presumptuously usurped the title of gentlemen, to do so on their peril henceforth.' Yet fulminate as the Heralds might, they were themselves the worst offenders, for never was a time when the making of false pedigrees was so extensively practised as it was in England during the sixteenth century. The wealthy aspirant to Court favour who did not look too closely at the price, experienced no difficulty in obtaining from them a beautifully made out pedigree, showing his descent in unbroken line from a Norman knight, a Saxon chief, or even, if he were very ambitious, from heroes as imaginary as Thor or Odin.

But to return to our family concerns ; it is true, although it seems almost incredible, that we might, were we so inclined, report two more actions in which Thomas Drake was the plaintiff. These cases, however, present no especially remarkable points, and so we pass them by and come to personal matters.

In the year 1602 a wedding took place which was of much interest to the household at Buckland. The bridegroom was Walter Elford, Thomas Drake's stepson. He was now about twenty-three years of age and in possession of his own patrimonial estate. Longstone is, indeed, too far removed from ' the crowd, the hum, the shock of men ' to be a spot where a quite young bachelor would care to live, but the place was dear to Madam Drake, and when her eldest son married Barbara Croker of Lynham, with whom he was already connected, she must have been glad that the old manor house at Shepstor should wake again to life and cheerfulness.

We never hear much of Thomas Drake's stepsons, but whenever mention is made of them, it is always in a way which shows that pleasant and brotherly relations existed between them and their half-brother and sister. These two



were but children in the year 1602, yet their future was already a matter of grave concern to their parents. If their father could have been sure of six more years of life, there would have been no cause for his and Madam Drake's anxiety. Unfortunately, nothing in the world is certain but, as the proverb says, death and taxes, which then, as now, were closely linked together.

We rail at the imposition of an excessive Estate Duty, but our ancestors were acquainted with it, though in a lesser degree, under the name of Livery; their worst grievances, however, arising out of the feudal law of wardship, have fortunately no modern counterpart and are practically unknown to this generation.

From Norman times, the sale of Crown wards had always been regarded by English sovereigns as a legitimate and particularly profitable source of revenue. There was an officer of state styled the Master of the Wards, whose especial business it was to sell the care of their persons and lands to the highest bidder, for the best benefit of the Crown, with often enough little regard to that of the ward. Henry VIII abolished the office as a separate post, and created in its place the combined Court of Wards and Liveries.

The exactions of this Court, together with the great hardships it inflicted on widows, who were deprived of the care of their own children, and on orphans whose fathers died in possession of landed estates, were only too well known to Thomas Drake and his wife. She had already experienced the effects of tenure in chivalry, on the death of her first husband, for if the wardship and marriage of her Elford children had been granted to her, it could only have been on the payment of a heavy 'fine,' and if it was bought by another person, that was a still worse grievance. Madam Drake's determination, therefore, to protect herself and the children of her second marriage from similar hardships was

natural enough ; and, although the method adopted seems to us to be fraught with almost greater evils than those which she sought to avoid, it was an expedient resorted to by many prudent parents, and was, in fact, the only one which at all met the difficulty.

Under the old feudal law of England, a youth of fifteen was of age for knight's service, yet, notwithstanding, he was still a minor in other respects, and if he were heir to real estate, the lord from whom he held (or the king, if he were a tenant *in capite*) had power to sell his wardship and marriage to whom he would ; but if the boy were already married, his value as a ward was materially lessened, and there was a reasonable presumption that he would be left to the care of his natural guardians.

An heiress of fourteen was not in ward, because at that age she might have a husband capable of knight's service, but if she were younger than that at the death of her ancestor, she in the same way was ward to the king or the lord from whom she held her lands.

The plan, therefore, was to marry heirs and heiresses as soon as they arrived at the legal age of consent, which is defined in the Roman law as fourteen for males and twelve for females. This is the explanation of most of the premature marriages of those times both in England and abroad, wherever land was held in chivalry.

Youthful princes and princesses were regarded as pawns in the great game of European politics, and if they were married or placed in convents without any choice of their own, they usually had other compensations. But there were few, indeed, for the heirs and none at all for the heiresses of the nobility and gentry, who were sometimes most iniquitously bargained and sold.

An instance of the cruel fate which might befall a ward of good fortune was very well known to the Drakes, as it had

occurred not a great many years previously to the heir of the Bamfields of Poltimore. Prince, who tells the story, does not say which heir, but circumstantial evidence points to Sir Richard Bamfield, who was but three years old when his father died in 1528, as having been the hero of the 'memorable passage of undoubted credit' which is recorded in 'The Worthies of Devon.'

It was thus. His father dying, the young gentleman fell a ward to some great person in the East country, who, seizing upon him while he was very young, conveyed him away to his own home. He being now possessed of his person and estate, some years after gave it out that he was gone to travel (or the like pretence). Insomuch that his relations and friends believing it to be true, looked no farther after him. So that concealing from him his quality and condition, and preventing what he could any discovery thereof, his guardian bred him up as his servant, and at last made him his huntsman. It happened that one of Mr. Bamfield's tenants understanding something of this mystery, made it his business to find him out; and next to discourse with him about it, which in a little time he had an opportunity to do; when acquainting him with his Birth and Fortunes, it was agreed on between them that he should come at such a time and fetch him away. This he did accordingly, and so retrieved the right heir of the family which hath flourished in great honour since.

Sir Richard Bamfield died in 1595; his widow, a sister of Sir George Sydenham, survived till 1599. She was aunt to Sir Francis Drake's wife, who may very likely have been the instigator of the curious matrimonial arrangement that was agreed upon two years later between the Drake and Bamfield families.

The strange story of Sir Richard's adventures, supplemented by many details long since forgotten, must have been familiar to his son, Sir Amias Bamfield, and no doubt it had the effect of quickening his desire to see his own elder children



married as soon as possible. He had a numerous family of sons and daughters. John, his heir, was aged sixteen in 1602, and there were other sons; his first daughter, Dorothy, was already married to Mr. Edward Hancock of Coombe Martin, but Jane, the second girl, was then probably between twelve and thirteen, and therefore just of an age to be mated with Thomas Drake's only son, Francis, who celebrated his fourteenth birthday on September 16, 1602.<sup>1</sup> In the event of the death of this boy without heirs, his sister Elizabeth (his junior by a year) would have succeeded to the family inheritance.

Thus three of these children had an appreciable value in the Court of Wards and Liveries. To save their future estates as far as possible from oppressive taxation, and their persons from being the prey of unknown and covetous guardians, the best way was to marry them; probably the scheme for uniting each of the youths with the sister of the other was no hastily conceived idea, but had been planned a long time before, and was only waiting for the fourteenth birthday of young Francis Drake.

The marriage articles were signed on September 20, two days prior to the wedding ceremonies. Only the settlement executed on the Drake side is now extant, but both documents were, no doubt, as nearly as possible identical. The fortune of the little Bamfield bride was £660, to be paid to her father-in-law six months after the marriage; a like sum was given to Elizabeth Drake, and both amounts were actually paid, although it would have come to the same thing if no money had passed, and the portion of each little girl had been set off against that of the other.

<sup>1</sup> A marriage in which either of the parties is below the age of consent is, however, said not to be absolutely void: 'if the parties agree to remain together at the age of consent, no new marriage is necessary, but either of them may disagree and avoid the marriage.'

The terms of Thomas Drake's indenture were that he placed the whole of his real estate in the hands of six persons,<sup>1</sup> in trust that he should have the free enjoyment of the same as before during his lifetime, and that at his death the manor of Sherford with all its appurtenances should be the jointure of his widow for her life. With this exception and the reservation to her of certain rooms at Buckland Abbey and a couple of gardens there, which were in like manner to be enjoyed by Jane Bamfield if later she should become the widow of Francis Drake, all the rest of the property was settled on the said Francis and his heirs male; then on any daughters he might have by Jane Bamfield; failing which, the estates were to go to John Bamfield and Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Drake, and their heirs male, and in default of such issue to the daughters Francis Drake might have by any subsequent marriage; these again failing, to John Bamfield and his heirs for ever.

The legal part of the compact being thus concluded, the double wedding of the children took place at Buckland Monachorum on September 22, 1602, when Francis Drake took Jane Bamfield to wife, and his sister Elizabeth was given to John Bamfield.

The wedding procession of these youthful couples must have been one of the most curious sights ever witnessed in the fine old church. We can imagine the little brides, arrayed most probably exactly to match, in full stiff brocade dresses, made with long waisted stomacher bodices, open at the throat, set off with high ruff-like collars of pointed lace, and wearing on their heads small close caps of velvet or brocade.

There was no distinctive costume for children at this time.

<sup>1</sup> The trustees were Edward Hancock of Coombe Martin; the Reverend Richard Bowden of Okehampton, brother-in-law of Sir Amias Bamfield; Thomas Elford, uncle of Thomas Drake's stepsons; Robert Moore of Moor, whose wife was Johanna Elford; Thomas Phillips of Barrington, Somersetshire; and Thomas Tozer, who was Thomas Drake's man of business.

On ceremonial occasions (excepting in the matter of jewels and rich embroideries) their dress resembled that of their parents, and in some contemporary pictures we find that even the stuffs were identical. The young bridegrooms on this day each wore a closely fitting doublet, probably of blue or red, trunks and hose, perhaps laced with silver, a sword, with white belt and hanger, white ruff and buff leather shoes; and each, we may be sure, carried embroidered gloves and a black hat.

The parents and finely arrayed friends who witnessed the ceremony, no doubt, assumed their most cheerful demeanour; yet it could not have been without terrible misgivings that Sir Amias Bamfield and Thomas Drake gave away their little girls, and saw them take upon themselves lifelong responsibilities, the weight and scope of which they could not know.

Many, too, must have been the promises between Madam Drake and Lady Bamfield, to deal with each other as they would be done by, when the day came for parting with their daughters. That, however, would not be for four years or more, and, meanwhile, it was customary that such brides and bridegrooms should return to their homes and their lessons and see nothing at all of each other. Except for an added sense of importance, the events of the great day just passed made no visible difference in their lives. The young brothers-in-law remained at their schools, or with private tutors, until the year 1604, at which time, in July, John Bamfield matriculated, and was entered at Exeter College, Oxford. On November 20, in the same year, Francis Drake, then aged sixteen, matriculated likewise, and took up his residence in the same college, where he remained two years.

During this time the only interesting domestic event which is recorded as having taken place at Buckland Abbey



was the birth of Madam Drake's first grandchild (daughter of Walter and Barbara Elford). The infant was baptised at Buckland Church on July 1, 1603, and, notwithstanding her sex, named Francis, in compliment most likely to her young half-uncle, who may have been her godfather.

### CHAPTER III

WE have thus far traced the life of Thomas Drake from youth to middle age, always on the ascending path, and have seen him, aided by his brother's strong hand, gradually rising from narrow circumstances into a good position, till in the early part of 1603 he had reached a comfortable tableland of life, where a man might be inclined to rest at ease. He had settled his brother's affairs, married his children to his satisfaction, gained possession of Samford Spiney, and had his manor of Yarcombe assured to him. Surely he may have thought all his difficulties were over, and only the ways of pleasantness and peace were to be his henceforth. But from such happy day-dreams, if Thomas indulged in them, he was sharply awakened.

No man can afford to despise even one bitter enemy, and Thomas had two, neither of them scrupulous and both in want of money. Singly they could not have injured him greatly, but they combined, and devised a most clever plot for their own profit and his undoing. Thus it is that, although reluctantly, we have to turn away from Buckland Abbey and Thomas Drake's home life to tell the story of his last and greatest lawsuit; one in which he was involved against his will, though not altogether without fault or folly of his own, for if he had not been so inveterately hostile to Bodenham, the probability is that this suit would never have been heard of. Greater generosity or a wider tolerance might have saved

Thomas from proceedings which embittered the remainder of his life, and even forced him at one time to take up his residence in Westminster, that, with the assistance of the best counsel, he might if possible baffle the designs of his tormentors.

The time had been when Thomas eagerly went to law, and had not unwillingly vexed others with unnecessary suits; now, most unexpectedly, he reaped as he had sown, and without any warning suddenly found himself entangled in a network of legal proceedings, which his adversaries drew closer and closer around him as the months went on, until at last he was threatened with complete ruin.

In order to make the story clear we must go back for a moment and remind the reader of the friendship that had existed between Sir Francis Drake and Richard Drake of Esher, and of the expectation entertained by the latter that his son would receive 'an assurance of lands' or some 'great good' from his godfather, Sir Francis, either by gift or by bequest, to the exclusion of Thomas Drake and his son; and further, that when Sir Francis died, the 'good' resolved itself into an opportunity presented to the Esher Drakes of acquiring the manor of Yarcombe, combined with the fee-simple of one-third of the land in the parish, for two thousand pounds. We have seen that though they might have had much, through wanting too much they lost the chance of the land, and had to be satisfied with £1,500 in money, and that with this compromise the incident appeared to have closed. That it had done so Thomas Drake certainly supposed, and with just reason, for in this matter he had acted liberally—even generously. But he had no conception of the intensity with which the Esher Drakes coveted the manor of Yarcombe, nor could he have suspected the lengths they were prepared to go in order to get possession of it without payment. We have good grounds, although not actual



proof, for believing that when the manor was declared to be forfeited to the Crown owing to Thomas Drake's omission to sue for livery, Richard Drake had hopes that it might be granted to him in recompense of his long service as equerry to the Queen; and if he had obtained it in this manner, no one could have blamed him. When Thomas was reinstated on payment of a fine, there is no doubt that Richard was greatly disappointed. It is remarkable that towards the end of the year 1602, without any fresh provocation on the part of Thomas Drake, an application was made in Richard's name, which if successful must, he knew, ruin Thomas Drake and force him to give up his manor. This application, we think and hope, emanated rather from the son than the father, and that Richard, taken at a moment of vexation, old, ill, and harassed by creditors, listened to the tempting voice of his son, inspired by Bodenham, and consented to proceedings which he would have repudiated with disgust, had he been quite himself. In no other way can we explain Richard Drake's conduct. He had been one whom Sir Francis Drake 'did specially regard as his trusted friend,' with whom, too, Lady Drake had been on terms of intimacy for years, and for these reasons we feel that we hold a brief for him, and wish to see his actions in the most favourable light. Richard was not wholly estimable, for in youth he was extravagant, and in mature age grasping, and not too nicely scrupulous where the advantage of his son was concerned; but he must have had some good and pleasant qualities as well, or he would not have been so affectionately regarded by Sir Francis and Lady Drake, and it seems incredible that he can have been guilty of the deep baseness imputed to him on the authority of testimony produced by his own son.

For Francis Drake of Esher, nothing favourable can be said. A man who is willing for the sake of gain to blacken

his father's character would calumniate anyone else for a trifle, and no reliance whatever can be placed on his statements.

With these premises we proceed with the history of the affair, drawing our information from documents at the Record Office and at Nutwell Court. They are numerous, but some that should be forthcoming are missing altogether, and some are imperfect ; still, by piecing bills and demurrers one with another, we can arrive at a tolerably complete record of the case.

Jonas Bodenham was the Mephistopheles, the prime contriver of the business, incited thereto partly by his desire for gain, and yet more strongly by a longing for revenge. Thomas Drake had dealt sternly with him, requiring what was due to the fullest extent that Bodenham could pay, and Jonas, smarting under the loss of his manor, had resolved that he would recoup himself or ruin Thomas. This was in the summer of 1601. At first Bodenham does not seem to have been able to hit upon a plan. He was clever and saw at a glance that the most effectual way of injuring Thomas would be by raising questions as to the rectitude of Sir Francis Drake in his financial dealings with the Crown. But the accounts for the two last expeditions in which Sir Francis had been engaged had only just been closed ; they had been subjected to searching scrutiny, and Thomas Drake had paid the balance to the Queen. Bodenham knew that it would be futile to get such recent matters reopened, so that if he were to take his revenge in this direction, it must be by going further back and impugning either the accounts rendered after the San Domingo and Carthagera voyage, or those of Sir Francis's expenditure of public money at the time of the Spanish invasion. Here he had a greater chance of success ; so many years had elapsed that a good deal of valuable testimony was lost, as well as the books of accounts which had been wilfully or carelessly burned by himself.

One initial difficulty confronted Bodenham in carrying out his scheme ; he had been receiver and accountant to Sir Francis during the time of those dealings which he proposed to call in question, and it would scarcely do to himself dispute the accuracy of accounts for the correctness of which he had been personally responsible. A partner, therefore, must be sought for who could be put forward whilst Bodenham pulled the strings, and a suitable accomplice was not easy to find, for he must be a man of good position and have means, else Bodenham himself would get nothing out of it. There was also the contingency that such a partner might keep the profits and let his prompter slide, but against this our Mephistopheles provided by the simple expedient of secretly keeping in his own hands the proofs that Sir Francis was not liable for the sums to be called in question. With this evidence in his possession, when matters had gone far enough, if Richard did not pay him sufficiently, he could sell his information to Thomas, and might perchance even get money from both sides.

The plan promised well, but some little time elapsed ere Bodenham could start it. He may, perhaps, have sounded others before trying Richard Drake, or the latter may have repulsed him in the first instance, disgusted at such black treachery to the memory of a friend who had done him nothing but good. But Richard was in debt ; every day he saw the Queen's health failing and his prospect of getting a pension from a parsimonious sovereign growing less and less. His own powers, probably, were failing also ; so he listened to the voice of the tempter and gave information that out of the profits of the San Domingo voyage Sir Francis Drake had embezzled or purloined £3,151 18s. 5d. that should have come to the Crown and the adventurers ; and he asked, in reward for his long service, to be permitted to have this sum, ' if he could recover it from Thomas Drake,



who had inherited valuable estates from his brother.' The application was made not long before Queen Elizabeth died, when the gloom of her last days was overshadowing her, and it is most improbable that the request ever had her real attention. Through the ministers, however, Richard obtained a promise of a patent, but the Queen dying soon afterwards, he made a fresh application for one when King James came to the throne.

Now the character of James is well known, and that he resorted to monopolies, to benevolences, to the creation of peerages, to any means rather than apply to Parliament for money. He was not the man to give up a prospect of three thousand pounds (equivalent to nearly thirty thousand now) if he had really believed such an amount to be owing to the Crown, but the grant offered a cheap way of pensioning the late Queen's equerry, and so the King agreed.

Very shortly after this, on July 11, 1603, before any more steps could be taken, Richard Drake died, and his son Francis asked for permission to succeed (under the patent) to the grant that had been made to his father. This also was allowed, with the difference that, if any money could be recovered, Francis was to share the spoils with certain Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

All these matters appear to have been kept very secret, for Thomas Drake was taken by surprise when, in Hilary term, 1604, he learned that Francis Drake of Esher had exhibited a bill against him in the Exchequer Chamber (where all matters affecting the Crown were tried), setting forth his right under the King's grant to any sums still owing by Sir Francis on his public accounts, and declaring that not only had the latter embezzled and purloined over three thousand pounds, part of the profits of the San Domingo voyage, but that he had also detained for his own use some of the pistoletts on board Don Pedro's ship, which had been

destined by the Spanish Government for the payment of the soldiers and mariners sailing in Don Pedro's squadron. The bill added that Thomas Drake was well aware of all this, and yet, as executor to his brother, he had not accounted to the Crown for the same.

Thomas lost no time in securing the assistance of Mr. Alexander Maynard,<sup>1</sup> one of the leading counsel of the day, who, on his behalf, applied for an order that copies of the depositions of the witnesses should be furnished to the defendant and that he should be permitted to cross-examine them.

Thomas denied the truth of the charges against Sir Francis, saying that the latter owed nothing to the Government, but that, if he did, such a debt could not possibly be paid while Francis Drake kept in his hands £1,500, part of the ransom of Don Pedro, belonging to Sir Francis, which had been received on his behalf by Richard Drake and not yet accounted for. Thomas, therefore, entered a bill of complaint against Francis for this, as well as for some other moneys lent by Sir Francis to Richard Drake but never repaid; and further, he accused the latter and Jonas Bodenhams of conspiring together to obtain money by advancing charges which they knew to be false.

These being private and personal matters, the whole suit was removed into the Chancery Court. There Francis managed to get into trouble by making use of some depositions which had been disallowed by the Court, and consequently, at the request of Thomas Drake, the matters in dispute were referred back again to be tried in the Exchequer Chamber, where the records of Sir Francis Drake's payments to the Crown were to be open to the inspection of Thomas Drake, but not to that of Francis, until he had purged his contempt

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Maynard of Tavistock was son of Thomas Drake's tenant at Sherford, and father of the celebrated Sergeant Maynard.

by entering a new bill of complaint against the defendant, supported by entirely fresh depositions.

Accordingly, in February 1605, Francis made an application to have 'equal justice' with Thomas, which was granted; and then the opponents began to fight again with renewed ardour.

King James seems to have taken quite a personal interest in the quarrel, and to have resolved upon some royal interference in order to help the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, for in February he addressed a letter to the Lord Chief Baron, complaining 'that the delays and fraudulent courses of Thomas Drake were such, as had caused his servants, as had had his grant for about two years, to be at such charges as would countervaile the benefit thereof. We did write,' says the King, 'to our late Chief Baron Sir William Perryam now deceased, and now in like manner have thought fit to require you, that by your means, our said servants may have the speediest course for obtaining the benefit of the said grant that in justice may be afforded to them.'

The King's partisanship, however, seems to have had little effect in quickening the movements of the law courts. The case came on regularly at every term, with only just so much new matter presented each time as could be deemed sufficient to call for a fresh answer and replication.

Francis Drake's bill of complaint at Easter, 1605, made exactly the same charges as before, but Thomas Drake's answer was more explicit than his former ones had been.

No particular number of pistoletts were named in the bill as having been detained by Sir Francis, and therefore Thomas contented himself with denying that the latter had embezzled any, or that he owed anything to the Crown and the adventurers in respect of the San Domingo voyage: on the contrary, Thomas said that the Queen had been overpaid to the extent of £360 0s. 4d., and he declared that the whole suit was unreasonable and only contrived for his



wrongful vexation, for that the accounts of the San Domingo voyage had been passed by the Royal Commissioners twenty years before and never questioned in the lifetime of Sir Francis, either by the Crown or the adventurers, of whom Richard Drake himself was one.

Thomas entered very fully into a description of the 'complot' devised between Bodenham and the Esher Drakes, asserting that it had been agreed that the former should receive a great reward for producing witnesses who would swear to anything that was required, and that he boasted openly that 'he would not leave Thomas Drake worth the gloves on his hands ere he had done with him.'

When Michaelmas term came, the Barons evidently considered that the time for mere denunciation was passed, and that the plaintiff and defendant should now bring forward proofs of the things of which they accused each other. A great number of witnesses were examined, and their depositions are at the Record Office, contained in five large bundles; the deponents were brought at great expense from different parts of England, and yet very few of them could speak of their own certain knowledge to any of the facts to which they deposed; they 'had heard say,' or 'had been credibly informed,' or 'did verillie on their conscience believe,' &c., but when questioned as to why they believed, generally gave reasons which had nothing to do with the matters in hand.

Jonas Bodenham brought no witnesses; his *role* was to appear innocent of any real connexion with the case. He of course denied that he and Richard had 'complotted,' and in this probably spoke the truth, as it is far more likely that his direct dealings were with Richard's son. He averred that he had been 'utterlie against it' when Richard proposed to apply for a royal grant, which no doubt was also true. Bodenham would have preferred some method less likely to bring his own dealings into notice. He was perhaps not

being paid by the plaintiff quite so liberally as he expected, for he seems to have thought that the time was come when it would be just as well to throw out a feeler towards the other side, and so in making his 'answer' he let fall that he was no longer on good terms with Francis, the latter 'having conceived very unkindly of him, and used discourtesies to him, not fit to be there named.' He added that all he had said against Thomas Drake was that if he, Bodenham, should deal as unkindly with Thomas as Thomas had with him, he might justly charge him with owing forty thousand pounds to the Crown.

In reply to these somewhat ambiguous statements, Thomas brought forward one Francis Crane,<sup>1</sup> gentleman, in the service of the Duke of Lennox, who deposed to a conversation between himself and the Lord Treasurer, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, when the latter told him that Bodenham had been the first to move in this case, and described the circuitous, underhand way in which he had set about it. Mr. Crane stated that he himself had been lately approached by Bodenham, who 'told him that if Mr. Drake would deal kindly with him and give him some good consideration for it, he would be able by himself to free him absolutely from the danger of the said grant made to Richard deceased, and that it should not be satisfied by him; and would needs have dealt with this deponent for some assurance of what he should receive for the effecting thereof; and said, moreover, that if the debt were yet due, it was to be satisfied by others and not by Mr. Drake.'

<sup>1</sup> Francis Crane held the office of Clerk to the Parliament in 1611, and about this time he was knighted. It is said that he was engaged to the Countess of Exeter, but that he relinquished his claim on payment of £4,000. 'He is best known as the founder of the tapestry manufactory at Mortlake, where under his skilful guidance, works of the highest merit were produced. Throughout all the troubles of the great Rebellion period, Crane's factory continued in operation, and it was only in 1702 that it was closed.'—*Chambers' Encyclopædia*.

The arch-conspirator had, in fact, made up his mind to hedge, and although Thomas brought all this evidence forward, it is remarkable that from this time he made no more complaints about Bodenham, although battling as fiercely as ever with Francis Drake; and what is still more suggestive, is that we soon after find Thomas alluding to the large quantity of evidence he had in his possession at Buckland—books and documents relating to the San Domingo voyage!

The witnesses brought forward by Francis Drake were much less concerned with endeavouring to prove defalcations on the part of Sir Francis, than in trying to establish Richard Drake's right to the £1,500 paid for the ransom of Don Pedro. If the suit as to the former matters were gained, the profits at the best would not be large by the time the hungry Gentlemen of the Bedchamber had taken their share; whilst if the £1,500 had to be repaid, it would come wholly out of Francis's own pocket; and he naïvely admitted that the money had been spent in furthering his marriage with Mistress Tothill, a rich heiress, and confessed that when his father's debts and legacies were paid, no assets would remain wherewith to meet Thomas Drake's claim. He therefore boldly pretended that the three Dons were not Sir Francis Drake's prisoners at all, but had been granted to Richard 'as a gratification,' by the especial grace and favour of Queen Elizabeth. In this matter Thomas Drake's deponents had much the best of it, for they were able to establish that Sir Francis had paid £4 a week for the 'dyett and maintenance of the Spaniards' at Esher, and that he had also provided Richard with 'Canarie and Clarett wyne, &c., for their use.'

As to the lesser sums claimed by Thomas Drake, Francis said that he felt persuaded that if they had ever been borrowed, they had been repaid in his father's lifetime; and that as Thomas had no documentary evidence of these loans, his



claim in respect of them need not be considered. It may be that in this Francis was right.

The matter of the most real importance, however, was the question of the Spanish pistoletts. Thomas did not contend that the whole of the treasure on board Don Pedro's ship had been paid to the Queen, but only that Sir Francis had strictly accounted for so much of it as had come into his own hands. There is some interesting correspondence on this subject amongst the State Papers, showing that Lord Howard had temporarily detained part of the Spanish money, not for himself, naturally, but to relieve the misery of some of the sailors, who, having fought bravely against the Armada, were, to the disgrace of the Government, afterwards left to starve.

I send you here enclosed (wrote Howard to Burleigh, on August 27, 1588) a note of the money Sir Francis Drake had abouted the Don Pedro. I did take at my coming down three thousand pistoletts as I told you I would; for, by Jesus, I had not £3 besides in the world; and had not anything could get money in London; and I do assure you my plate was gone before. But I will repay it within ten days after my coming home. I pray you let her Majesty know so. And by the Lord God of Heaven I had not one crown more; but if I had not some to have bestowed upon some poor miserable men, I should have wished myself out of the world.

It is to be hoped that Howard was not called upon to replace this money. His good deed must have been known, and it was not the three thousand pistoletts he had taken that were now in question, but an undefined number, of which, if any were missing, the Government could not have been ignorant at the time, because Don Pedro had been interrogated as to the value of the prize.

In the course of this lawsuit some very interesting evidence was put forward. Certain gentlemen and mariners

were examined, who had served under Sir Francis Drake at the time when the *N. S. del Rosario* was captured, and they very graphically described the circumstances of Don Pedro's surrender.

One, Mr. Hughes of Tottenham, gentleman, related that he was

with Sir Francis Drake in A.D. 1588, at the time of the taking of Don Pedro de Valdez, and in his ship there was found and taken out, a chest of treasure, and brought into the said Sir Francis his ship; but before it was brought out it was broken open by the companies, in striving for taking thereof or other pillage. And part of the treasure that was in the said chest was imbessed away, as well by Spaniards as by Englishmen, at the time of the entering and taking of Don Pedro's ship; for that the Spaniards, when they saw that there was no hope or refuge but to be taken or sunke, did pilfer and purloyne out of the chest much of the said treasure.

As an instance of this, Mr. Hughes mentioned that one of the Spaniards taken at the time had as much of the gold about him as afterwards paid for his ransom. He said further

that when the treasure was brought from Don Pedro's ship, there came so many in the boat with it, that by reason of the roughness of the sea or the overcrowding of the boat with people, they were in some danger, and when they came to Sir Francis Drake's ship the treasure was brought on board out of the boat, in thin canvas bags, out of which there is great likelihood in such a confusion, that some of the same was purloyned away.

Mr. Hughes finished his deposition by stating that at a later time when the bulk of the Spanish money had been delivered to the Lord Treasurer, 'Sir Francis Drake and others were authorised by the late Queen to bestow some of the treasure upon the commanders, gentlemen, and others that were in the Voyage, whereof the deponent himself had part.'

Other witnesses gave evidence to the same effect, and although Francis unblushingly declared that his father had accepted a bribe of £100 from Sir Francis, for secrecy as to the bestowal upon two commanders of part of the treasure amounting to a thousand pounds, the Court seems to have regarded this and the hearsay evidence as improbable, and to have been satisfied that there was nothing wherewith to charge the memory of Sir Francis Drake in respect of the Spanish pistoletts. After this interrogatory no more appears to have been said about them, and the action of the Government—for the Attorney-General now interposed—was directed solely to the recovery of the balance supposed to be due on the San Domingo and Carthagena accounts.

The reason for the intervention of the Attorney-General so late in the day is not very clear. It may have been to prevent the scandal of private parties compounding in respect of a debt due to the Crown. There can be no doubt that the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber were becoming weary of a suit that had already lasted three years ; it was costing them a good deal of money, and they would have been glad to be out of it.

On November 12, 1605, the new move began. The Attorney-General issued 'an information' against Thomas Drake—then stated to be residing in Westminster—commanding him to appear in the Exchequer Chamber and answer, as executor to his brother, for three thousand pounds due to the late Queen. To this Thomas, doggedly resolving to fight to the very last, made reply that Sir Francis had fully accounted for all sums due to the Crown and to the adventurers, in a book that had been deposited with the Government Commissioners ; that the accounts had been passed by them, and that he had received his ' *Quietus est.*'

Thomas entered very fully into a relation of expenses for which Sir Francis had never been properly compensated by



the Government, including £6,000, which the Volunteer fleet had cost him in 1588, and said he could answer no further than he had already answered, without consulting a large quantity of bills, books, and notes at Buckland.

Consequently, on January 25, 1606, Mr. Sergeant Hele moved on his behalf, 'that as the time passed was long and the matter weighty,' it would be desirable that a Commission should sit at Plymouth to take evidence there obtainable of the payments made by Sir Francis in respect of the San Domingo and Carthagea voyage.

To this the Court consented ; Francis Drake was permitted to choose two members of the Commission, and Thomas Drake another two. Their evidence was to be returnable on the first Monday in Lent, when the defendant was to be 'prepared with an answer he would stand to peremptorily,' otherwise a 'nihil dicet' was to be entered against him without further ceremony.

It is impossible here to withhold a certain meed of admiration from Thomas Drake. With powerful enemies arrayed against him and the King at their back, he must have known how small was his chance of justice ; yet, undismayed, he never thought of surrender, but hastened away to the West to collect the proofs for the defence. Harassed and anxious, in the coldest month of an unusually wet winter, Thomas must have ridden down to Devonshire to prepare for the final struggle. He was no longer young ; there was much to do ; and it must have been with relief that he heard, towards the end of February, that his adversary was entreating for delay.

To Francis Drake the appointment of a Commission to sit in Devonshire must from the first have been singularly distasteful, and he now represented to the Court 'that the time was short and he could not be ready ; that it was a long way thither ; that his witnesses had great occasions of business

in the meantime, and also that it was far to ride; wherefore he humbly desired that the time of sitting might be deferred to Easter week.' To which request the defendant's counsel not objecting, the Attorney-General decreed that the evidence collected by the Commission should be presented in the quindary of Easter, instead of the first Monday in Lent, as previously ordered.

But anxiety, cold, and fatigue had done their work. Thoroughly overwrought, Thomas, who had returned to London, became seriously ill, and as the day drew near for the meeting of the Commission, it was obvious to those about him, if not to himself, that his strength was failing.

On March 17 a scrivener was sent for to assist him in making his will, and it must be admitted that Mr. West did his work well. At first sight the document does not seem to have been very carefully considered, but as the event proved, the best conveyancer in England could not have devised an instrument more nicely fitted, and exactly calculated to discomfit those who were plotting to share the Drake estate between them. The will is a short one and lacks the elaborate argumentative preamble which Thomas would have delighted in composing if he had been writing at leisure and in good health. Now he had only strength briefly to recommend his soul to God and to state his wishes.

In Dei Nomine Amen. The seventeenth daye of Marche one thousand six hundred and five<sup>1</sup> and in the third year of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, and of Scotland the nyne and thirtieth. I Thomas Drake of Buckland in the Countie of Devon Esquire beying very weike in body but of good and perfect mynde and memorye thanks be given to Almighty God, do make and

<sup>1</sup> The year at that time began, not on the first of January, but on the twenty-fifth of March. According to the present method of reckoning the will was made in 1606.

ordayne this my last will and testament, in manner and form following, that is to saye : First and principallie I commend my Soule unto Almighty God my Maker and my Creator and to his Sonne Jesus Christ my Saviour, through the merites of whose most pretious deathe I verilie beleve and hope to be saved, and my body to the earth whence it was taken, as will please myne Executor. Item I give and bequeath unto my Sonne Frauncis Drake my best chayne of gould, with three fayer jewels called a compass, a starre, and the late Queen's Majesty's picture, which shall remaiyne in my wives handes as long as she shall be unmarried. Also I do also give and bequeath unto the saied Frauncis my sonne one lease which was made at my children's marriage, made by me of my house and Demesnes of Buckland, which lease I do give unto my saied son and his heires for ever. Item I give and bequeath unto my man Alexander Elford fower poundes of lawfull money of England to be paied unto him by my wife and my Son Frauncis within three months after my decease. Item I give unto all the rest of my servants at Buckland twenty shillings apiece. Item I give unto the poore of the parish of Buckland Monachorum the somme of fower poundes of like lawfull money of England to be distributed and divided amongst at fower several Sundays by the Church wardens. Item I do make and ordaine my Sonne Frauncis and my wife Elizabeth Drake my full and sole executors of this my last will and testament, and then I do authorize and appoint my saied executors that yf the saied Frauncis shall chaunce to molest or trouble his mother, then the saied Frauncis shall not have or doe with any goodes or chattles, not to defeate or defraude her of any parte of her exectorship.<sup>1</sup> Yf the saied Frauncis my Sonne doe, I doe by this my will exclude him of his executorshipp. Therefore my will is that they shall be joint executors together, and not be divided by no manner of meanes whatsoever. Item I give unto my Sonne Frauncis my silver rapier and dagger. Item I give unto my said Sonne Frauncis my Sea Cappe and Scarfe

<sup>1</sup> Prior to 1830, if there was no residuary legatee, the residue of a testator's personal estate, after payment of debts and legacies, belonged to the executor for his own benefit, unless a contrary intention appeared from his being left executor in trust, or from his having a legacy left him for his trouble, or from other circumstance. Thus before the Statute of 2nd George IV the appointment of an executor was understood as a gift to him of everything not otherwise disposed of.



and all my Auncients whatsoever of golde and silver, my pearle pistolls and peternell of pearle. For testimony that this is my last will and testament I have hereunto set my hande and seale the daye and yeare first above wrytten. Item I give also unto my Uncle John Drake fiftie shillings of lawfull money of England to be paied unto him by my saied executors within three months of my decease and that my saied Uncle shall have his lodging and dyett at my house at Buckland gratis during his life. By me

THOMAS DRAKE.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Richard Parker.

Alexander Elford.

Edward Weste (Servant to John Weste Scrivener).

The existence of John Drake, senior, comes upon us almost as a surprise ; he had so long passed away from the active current of our family history. It is pleasant to observe Thomas Drake's affection for his old uncle, who, no doubt, had been especially recommended to his care by Sir Francis. John Drake must have been about seventy-four years of age in 1606, as his nephew Thomas was ' fiftie years and more ' when he made his will.

Thomas Drake had settled the transmission of his real estate at the time of his children's marriages, and the will dealt merely with his personalty, the value of which we know, from depositions in the lawsuit, was estimated at about £10,000. It is evident that he intended his wife and son to share this equally between them.

We should have expected to find Mr. Tozer at the elbow of his old client when his last will and testament was being drawn up, but that prosperous gentleman now rented an estate at Callington, and was also Town Clerk of Plymouth, where he was engaged, no doubt, on behalf of Thomas, in examining witnesses and sifting evidence to be brought before the Court of Inquiry.

Towards the end of the month of March, at the latest, the Commissioners and Francis Drake with his witnesses must have arrived in Devonshire, and the sittings had begun. But Thomas Drake could only have appeared by deputy. There was little time to lose, for Easter fell this year on April 19, two days after the Commissioners were to be back in London, and the defendant was to be prepared 'with the answer he would stand to.' We can imagine the dismay of Francis Drake of Esher when, on April 4, the news came that Thomas Drake was dead. He had made his last answer, and the proceedings against him had come to an end. Truly he had escaped 'as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers,' the snare was broken and he had escaped.

Then and there the prosecution collapsed. The royal grant had been solely as against Thomas Drake; now he was gone, and for five years no one could stand in his place. But, independently of this, Francis Drake of Esher knew that his chance was absolutely at an end, and—bitter thought—lost to him, perhaps, through his own cry for more time, for the King himself now stood *in loco parentis* to young Francis Drake of Buckland, whose rents till his majority belonged to the Crown.

Crestfallen, indeed, must Francis of Esher have felt, as, with nothing but a bill of expenses in his hand, in company with his party of witnesses, he turned his back on Plymouth, to meet the blank looks of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

As the last of the band rode off, we can imagine Jonas Bodenham laughing softly to himself. The birds of prey had come greedily to his lure, but had been sent away unsatisfied, and he alone had made his account out of the great 'complot.'

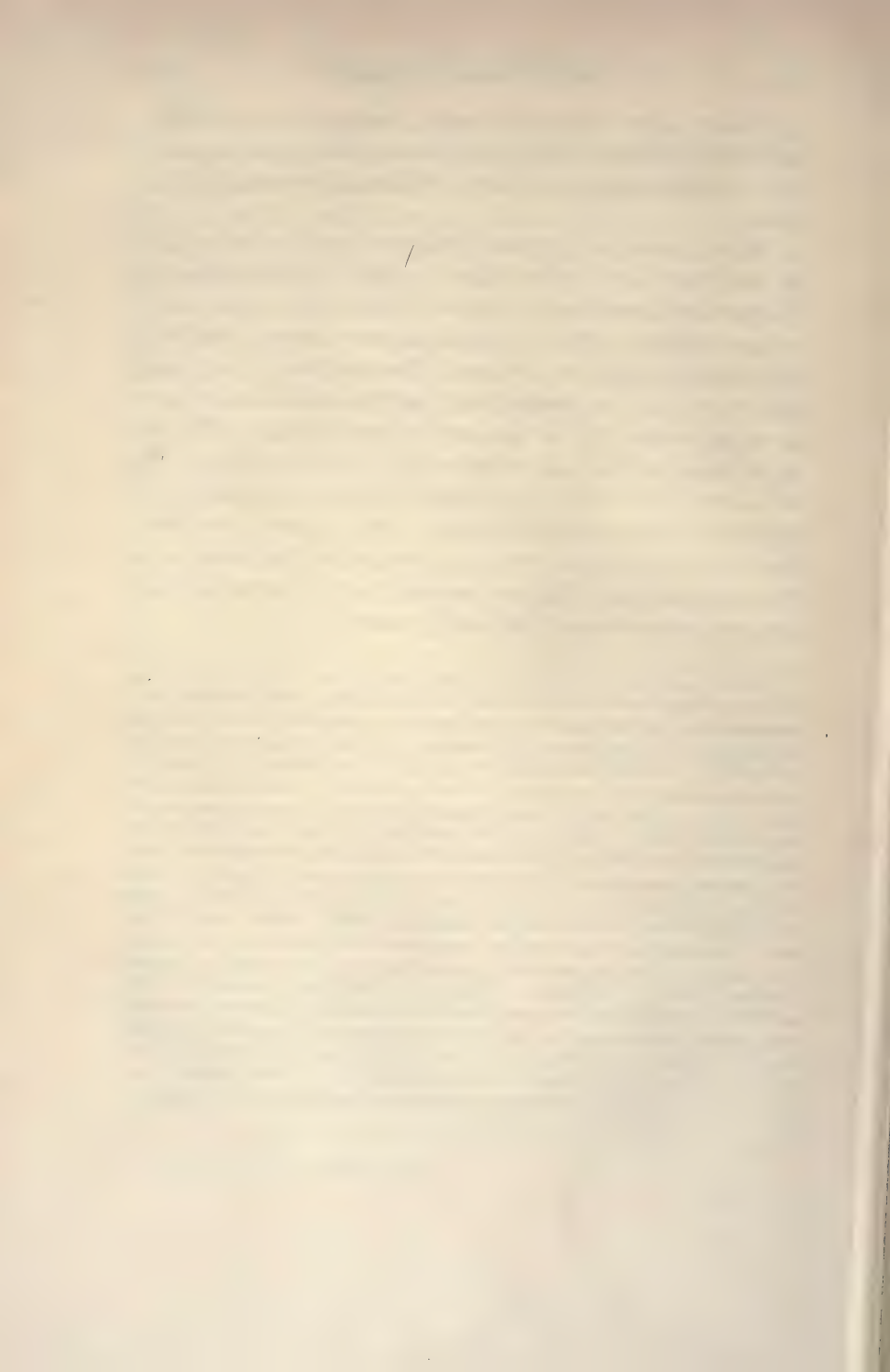
What became of Bodenham? Did he flourish like a green bay tree, or come to want through gambling? None can say; only this is certain, that at Buckland and at Samford Spiney his place knew him no more.

Neither do we again meet with Francis Drake of Esher. He died in the year 1633,<sup>1</sup> and that manor, where the Dons had been prisoners, in course of time again reverted to the Crown.

Of the funeral of Thomas Drake we have no particulars. He was buried just a week after his death at St. Margaret's, Westminster, then the only place of burial in the parish where he was residing. The old register there—the copy only of a lost original, enters the name as 'Thomas Brak,' a very easy mistake to make in transcribing from the crabbed court hand in which documents of that period were written. We feel no doubt at all that the entry refers to Thomas Drake. It fits exactly as to date; no other Thomas was buried there about that time; and 'Brak' is not a name. We know also that his remains were not brought to Buckland or to Plymouth, and that they are certainly not in the vault where the later generations of his family repose.

<sup>1</sup> A few years after the death of Francis Drake a very curious memoir of his wife was published, and from it we learn that this unhappy lady 'could not love' her husband. 'She was married to him against her will, which first bred in her the foundation of those storms and tempests which were in danger to have overthrown her.' Her grief, we are told, 'stuck close to her, though with strength of spirit she endeavoured by all means to have outfaced it, without semblance of discontent . . . yet it could not be long concealed, and did secretly work upon her a habit of sadness.' By degrees her mind quite gave way; she fancied herself cast out from God's mercy and lost eternally. Her parents were zealous Puritans, they sent for preachers to reason with their daughter, and 'divers fasts were held for her in private . . . for all this the Devil did hold her close unto his main aim of desperation, for she swallowed many great pins so to have destroyed herself.' Upon a later occasion, having been advised by the doctors that 'oranges were naught for her,' she ate forty at one sitting and, oddly enough, was much benefited by them. After about twenty years of a miserable life, sometimes better and sometimes worse, but never really sane, she left her husband, saying she would die in her father's house, and so she did within a few days of her arrival, believing, happily for herself, poor thing, that she was surrounded by triumphant choirs of angels. This comforting change of ideas when on her deathbed enabled those who had ruined her life to regard her as a 'firebrand plucked from the burning.'





**PART III**

**SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, 1ST BARONET**

**1606-1637**





## PART III

### CHAPTER I

FRANCIS, only son of Thomas Drake of Buckland, was between seventeen and eighteen years old when his father died ; he was studying at Oxford, and until his majority, he could take no part in the executorship bequeathed to him jointly with his mother ; they were to act together, and were ' by no manner of means whatsoever to be divided.' This proviso, irksome as it may have seemed at the moment, was a most fortunate one for young Francis, as it practically put an end to the lawsuits in which his father had been involved.

The Attorney-General's prosecution, however, stood on a different footing, and may be said to have been ruled neither by law nor precedent, for King James maintained that it was part of his royal prerogative to have a voice in the decisions of the judges on all matters which affected the rights of the Crown.

The Commissioners, who had been at Plymouth taking evidence for the case, can scarcely have finished their sittings before Thomas Drake died ; but whether the inquiry was closed or not, a report of their proceedings would have to be presented in court, when the time came for hearing in Easter term, and, therefore, the sooner young Francis could be declared a ward to the Crown the better it might be for him, as it would then be to the King's interest that the prosecution should be allowed to drop.

Madam Drake must have had good friends and have made special efforts, for before the month of April was out, the writ was issued and the Inquisition held at Exeter Castle.

In place of the usual twelve jurors there were sixteen, and two other functionaries besides the escheator and the feodary signed their names to the document. Obviously, every precaution was taken to secure the absolute finality of the inquest; the more so, perhaps, because Thomas Drake had taken advantage of the law which permitted a landowner to settle two-thirds of his property as dower, for the benefit of younger children or of creditors; therefore, for the payment of the King's dues there remained only the one undivided third which it was compulsory to leave unencumbered for that purpose.

The Inquisition recites the terms of the settlement made by Thomas Drake at the time of his children's marriages, tells us how he raised the £600 required for his daughter's portion, and enumerates the lands and houses in his possession at the time of his death. The list of these is substantially the same as that appended to the Inquisition taken at the death of Sir Francis, the only additions being a few small messuages at Maker (now part of the Mount Edgcumbe property) and sixteen houses at Plymouth held from the corporation. The value of the unencumbered third, which belonged to the King during the minority of the heir, is stated as 'thirty pounds annually beyond reprises.'

Inquisitions only take note of the regular annual rents, and, therefore, it is most difficult to guess what the real income of a landowner was, because properties both large and small were usually let on leases for three lives, with a heavy premium at the commencement, and a very small—almost nominal—payment annually, during the remainder of the term. Westcote, writing in 1630, gives us to understand that these were usually about a tenth part of what the rent would have been if the property had been let by the year, and not, as was

customary, on long leases for lives. Thus, as the rental of the Drake estates amounted to ninety pounds yearly, the actual value, according to the above calculation, was about nine hundred pounds, the difference between the two sums being made up to the landowner, at uncertain intervals, by large fines at the reprises. Averaged over a long period of time, the result was probably much the same, and the system had its advantages in greatly lessening the dues payable to the Crown for livery; but, except in cases where the properties held were numerous, such inequalities and uncertainties of income must have induced stinting and saving, or squandering; one generation might have much, and the next but little from the same lands, or a man might have large windfalls for a year or two, and then next to nothing for the remainder of his life.

About three weeks after the Inquisition on the Drake estates was held, young Francis was declared a ward to the Crown, and the usual steps were taken for the sale of his wardship; but, as his father had foreseen, no one cared to purchase the guardianship of an heir who was just at the most expensive period of his education, and against whose name was written '*nupsit in vita patris*,' so we are not surprised to find that, towards the end of June, 'this parcel [the one-third of the profits] was leased to Sir Amias Bamfield.' The lad continued to be the King's ward, but Sir Amias paid thirty pounds a year to the Crown, and could recoup himself out of his son-in-law's property.

In November 1606, having finished his course at the University, Francis Drake left Oxford, apparently without having taken a degree. In the first term of 1607 he was admitted student of Lincoln's Inn, not with the intention of preparing for the Bar, but in order that he might acquire such a knowledge of Common Law as would be of assistance to him in the future as a magistrate. He kept his terms in



London for about three years, during which time, no doubt, he paid occasional visits to Devonshire, to gladden the heart of his great-uncle John, who survived till January 1610, and to cheer his mother in her loneliness ; for his half-brothers were all by this time out in life, and his sister Elizabeth had joined her husband, apparently towards the close of 1606.

John Bamfield was now twenty years of age; we have reason to suppose that he left Oxford about six months before Francis Drake. It may be that at the time of his father-in-law's funeral he caught sight of his young wife, and that the couple then decided not to wait much longer for the enjoyment of a honeymoon, for he did not come up to the Middle Temple immediately upon leaving the University, but seems to have had a twelvemonth's interval. In the following year (1608) his eldest son, named Amias, was born.

At the beginning of May 1610, Francis Drake sued for livery of his lands, and obtained it 'without proof of age' on the payment in advance of all the monies due to the Crown up to his twenty-first birthday, together with a sum equivalent to half a year's profit of his estates beyond that date ; then, although he still wanted nearly five months of his majority, he was placed, not only in full possession of his property, but became forthwith legally competent to prove his father's will, which he did by himself, his mother 'renouncing' ; evidently the reasons for their being linked together no longer weighed, and all fear of lawsuits had come to an end.

Some especial plea must have been put forward to have induced the Court of Wards and the Probate Court to deal thus with a minor, and we think that there can be little doubt that the one urged in this case was 'a journey beyond the seas,' for in those days a tour abroad was the usual finishing touch to the education of young men of good position. Our hero may have joined a party who meant to begin their foreign experiences by witnessing the Coronation of Marie de

Medicis, and, if so, he was in Paris at the time of Henry IV's assassination by Raviillac; this, of course, is mere conjecture, but the belief that he was 'sent on his travels' has something to support it. In addition to other reasons, Madam Drake and Sir Amias may well have desired that there should be some delay before such a mere youth set up as a married man. They most likely planned that the tour should last about eight months, at the end of which time Francis Drake was apparently considered old enough to come home and take charge of his wife.

Was their union a happy one or a failure? We have nothing to tell us, and know only that in 1611 a little daughter, named Dorothy, was born to the young couple; and that about a year and a half later, on February 26, 1613, Jane Drake was laid to rest in the family vault at Buckland.

Thus, before he was quite twenty-five years of age, Francis Drake was a widower. That he should always remain one was not to be expected, but he may really have loved the wife of his boyhood, for he was in no great haste to replace her. In the meantime, he had the companionship of his half-brother, John Elford, and doubtless plenty of private and county business to attend to.

We have, unfortunately, but one letter written either to or from him at this period. It is from Mr. Philip Bovile of Killigarth, and concerns a Yarcombe chief rent due to him on Manning's Common, as part of the manor of Knightshayne. Mr. Tozer had unadvisedly stirred up the question again, and Mr. Philip Bovile, after explaining how the matter stood, ended his letter thus:

I have formerly written to your honourable father, Sir Ames Bamfield, but I never heard from you touching the same; and for that I see your worthy respects towards my son Greinvile<sup>1</sup> and his like love to you,—makes me the more

<sup>1</sup> Sir Barnard Grenville, who had married Elizabeth Bovile.

desirous of a frindly and peaceable end, thus praying your answer, doe with my hearty commendations to you and your Brother, my good cozzen, Mr. John Elford, commit you to God, and rest your assured frind.<sup>1</sup>

PHILIP BOVILE.

Killigarth, the 6th of August, 1613.

The Sir Barnard Grenvile here alluded to was son of the famous Sir Richard of the *Revenge*. Sir Barnard's two sons, Bevill and Richard, were much of an age with Francis Drake, and the friendship between them may be said to have been hereditary.

As months wore on, the sorrowful loneliness of Francis Drake's home life may have led him to throw himself the more earnestly into county business. We do not know the exact date when he was placed on the Commission of the Peace, but it was probably about this time.

In 1614 the Justices of Devon and those of all the other counties had unusually weighty and unpleasant business to consider. King James had called a Parliament together in April, to relieve his necessities by a grant of supply, but the Commons had refused to vote one without a corresponding redress of grievances, of which they brought forward a long list both civil and ecclesiastical. After two months of angry discussion, being unable to come to terms with them, the King dissolved Parliament and fell back on a voluntary Benevolence, as the plan most likely to provide him with the money he wanted.

The Lords of the Council accordingly wrote to the Sheriffs and Justices of every county in England, calling upon them to make collections of money and plate 'from all persons in their counties who were of good ability, or otherwise fit to further the service,' and directing that their contributions

<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been found that Mr. Bovile was in the right, for the dues in question continued to be paid to him and his heirs, until the manor of Knightshayne became part of the Drake property.



should be sent in, with a register in writing of the value of every particular gift, together with the names of the givers, 'that the King might view the same and take notice of their good affections.'

This demand for a Benevolence may well have caused no small consternation among the Justices of Devon. They met in considerable force, and after long and repeated consultations, agreed upon an answer making known to their lordships their 'general scruple,' which was briefly this, 'the exceeding prejudice that might come to posterity by such a precedent.' His Majesty's great necessity to be supplied, they added, wrought much upon the affections of every particular of them, so as nothing but the fear of the just blame of after ages could have abated their forward dispositions from performing a service so requisite in itself . . . they assured their lordships that none of his Majesty's subjects would be more ready and forward than themselves, in all the ancient, laudable and lawful courses of this kingdom, to lay down their goods at his Majesty's feet for the supply of his wants, and were very sorry that they were at this time deprived of the means to show their faithful zeal and loyal affections.<sup>1</sup>

The Lords of the Council, as might have been expected, were not to be put off with the expression of 'a general scruple.' Some of the principal landowners were sent for, significantly admonished and made the bearers of a second letter addressed to the Justices, desiring them 'to resume this service,' and so effectually dispose themselves as 'that Devon be not noted to be the only county that is not moved to concur with the whole kingdom in this free and voluntary supply,' but rather that they should endeavour to redeem that which was passed, with 'alacrity and demonstration of thankfulness.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quarter Sessions. Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne. Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Thus summarily persuaded, the Justices resisted no longer, but took measures for the collection of the Benevolence. No record has been preserved of the sum contributed by themselves on this occasion, but it was probably about four pounds apiece. Residents in Plymouth, we find, contented themselves with offering quite small amounts, from one shilling upwards, and although the mayor set a loyal example by giving as much as eleven shillings, some stiff-necked townsmen had the courage of their opinions and resolutely declined to present anything whatever.

We have dwelt particularly on the circumstances connected with the levy of the Benevolence, because, though not very burdensome in itself, it was the first of a series of illegal extortions, and the beginning of a system of arbitrary and intolerable misgovernment, which at length drove so many of the Western gentlemen, and the Drakes amongst them, to risk their lives and fortunes in fighting to the uttermost for the preservation of the ancient lawful liberties of Englishmen.

One of the Deputy-Lieutenants for Devon, whose name we find appended to almost every county document of consequence throughout the reign of James I, was Sir William Strode of Newnham, the friend and trustee of the first Sir Francis Drake. He sat on every commission of importance, was Recorder of Plymouth for a good many years, and member for Plympton in all the Parliaments from 1597 to 1628. In the latter capacity he must have been one of those who, in 1614, refused to vote a supply, and, therefore, we may guess with what feelings he found himself compelled to promote the collection of a Benevolence.

The Strodes were a stout-hearted race, by no means of the stuff likely to adopt new doctrines as to the duty of passive obedience. One of Sir William's ancestors, who was a member of Parliament in 1513, was cast into the dungeon of the

Stannary Court at Lydford, 'a most heinous contagious place,' and remained there three weeks in irons, fed on bread and water, rather than pay a fine illegally imposed upon him by the Tinnars' Court. Another, Sir William's grandfather, was, in 1531, imprisoned for heretical opinions. He endured great hardships, but would not recant, and it is believed that he died in confinement.

The family had been seated at Strode since the time of Henry I, but for the last seven generations had resided at Newnham, in the parish of Plympton St. Mary. Only a portion of their old mansion is now standing, converted into a farm-house. It is still, however, one of the most picturesque of the ancient manor houses in Devonshire, and presents remains of peculiar and unusual interest. The Strodes had two halls, an upper and a lower one. The large upper chamber, for winter use, is now divided into several rooms, but the same fine old ceiling, with handsome oak beams and carved bosses and border, runs through the whole suite. At one end of this, a small door in the wainscoting leads, by a very steep step, into a tiny closet with a window; it is called the confessional or priest's chamber; here, maybe, the family had an oratory, but it is certainly not a place of concealment, and it is too small to have been used as a dwelling-room. The house, which appears to have been built in the time of Henry VII, is so closely placed under the shelter of a hill that, by ascending a flight of rough steps outside, one comes immediately into a field on a level with the pinnacled chimneys, which are a striking external feature of this quaint old-world place.

Another of Sir William's residences, whence many of his letters are dated, was the High House at Meavy, erected by himself in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was originally planned in the shape of an E, but is now imperfect, one half of the building having been demolished about the year 1835.



He had also a town house at Exeter, in the Cathedral Yard, where, no doubt, Lady Strode and his daughters enjoyed the winter season. It is recorded of him that 'he was a man of great honour, worth, and esteem in his own County.' His family consisted of three sons, all well known in their respective ways, and seven daughters, who 'married richly and with great choices.' In their pleasant society, our young widower, Francis Drake, found companionship and presently consolation. Richard and William Strode must at this time have been his chief friends, for John, the youngest brother, 'spent much of his tyme about London, he was counted the best bowler in England,' and was, we are told, 'a great favourite with the nobility and gentry.' Somewhat of a flirt, too, he may have been, and perhaps a trifle disdainful of his country relations, for his brother-in-law, Sir Samuel Somaster, records with an air of amusement, 'that after all he retyred into his own County and married a widow!' Mary and Elizabeth, Sir William's first and third daughters, were already married, the one to Sir George Chudleigh, the other to Sir Samuel Somaster, when in the year 1615, on June 5, Francis Drake made the second girl, Joan, the stepmother of his little daughter, Dorothy.

It is, perhaps, because we know so little about his first wife, Jane, that her life and character seem to us to have been colourless, but we are persuaded that the second Mrs. Drake was of a very different temper. She was a 'maîtresse femme,' well able to take care of her own interests, and, we should fancy, by no means of a yielding disposition. She seems, however, to have lived in great amity with her husband's mother, old Madam Drake, who until the end of her days occupied the suite of rooms at Buckland which were settled upon her by her husband. Her parlour on the ground floor, opening out of the great hall, is a dull room with no view, but it is comfortable and handsomely wainscoted.

The five bedrooms above, also assigned to her, of which only four remain, were good ones, although they faced north and east. Madam Drake had her maid, her own footman in livery, her own kitchen, two gardens, and the exclusive use of a separate entrance, and so could be tolerably independent of her energetic daughter-in-law.

'Marriage articles' of some kind were probably executed at the time of Joan's wedding, but no record exists of them or of the amount of fortune she brought with her. Although she was one of such a numerous family, she seems to have been substantially endowed, for some years later, no doubt in consideration of her portion, very advantageous settlements were made in her favour.

The first child of Francis Drake's second marriage was born in September 1616, and baptised at Buckland Church by the name of Mary. In the same year—perhaps happily for herself—little Dorothy Drake ended her short life and was laid beside her mother. Her place was soon filled up, for in September 1617, the parish registers record the christening of Francis and Joan Drake's eldest son and heir, who, of course, received the name of Francis.

The only other entry for this period which calls for special notice is one taken from the Plymouth municipal records of 1616: 'For drawing Sir Francis Drake's picture and other charges toward that, liis.' This is the portrait which now hangs in the Guildhall, and when we remember that it was painted only twenty years after the death of Sir Francis, for a corporation still composed of men who had known him intimately, we may be sure that the original from which it was copied must have been regarded as a satisfactory likeness by those who were fully competent to judge. The Plymouth portrait closely resembles the one at Buckland Abbey, with the difference, not unusual in copies, of being a little smaller, and also that it has suffered by restoration,

which the family portrait has happily escaped. The latter is said to be the work of Abram Jannsens, a Dutch artist born in 1569, who may, therefore, have painted the picture during one of Sir Francis's visits to the Netherlands.

In 1619 Francis Drake made a substantial addition to his estates by the purchase of Werrington Park from his friend Mr. Thomas Gewen. He was already to a small extent a Cornish landowner, for, in 1614, at a cost of £2,900, he had acquired the Priory of Launceston and the manor of Newhouse, both in the parish of St. Stephen's, and somewhat later he bought the barton of Brendon, in the parish of St. Mary Week, in all about fourteen hundred acres.

Werrington Barton, as it was then called, stands in a domain of three hundred and fifty-two acres, which were converted by Francis Drake into a park, and by him stocked with deer; but not having in the first instance obtained a royal licence, he was much troubled with trespassers who declared that it was no park at all. Consequently, a few years later (in 1631), he petitioned Charles I for licence to enclose and increase it, which was granted. Werrington Park, which is well known for its varied and beautiful scenery, is watered by the river Kensey, and is thus partly in Devon and partly in Cornwall. Few properties in England have had greater fluctuations in value. Mr. Gewen says in one of his letters that he purchased the estate for £1,700; he sold it to Francis Drake for £1,800, and in the eighteenth century the same property was bought by the Duke of Northumberland for more than fifty-five times that sum, not so much on account of its agricultural or residential advantages, as because the small manor of Newport closely adjoining—added by the Drakes to the estate in 1650—was a pocket borough, which, till the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, returned two members to Parliament.

In July 1621, a second son, named Thomas, was born at



Buckland Abbey, and the home circle was further enlarged, in 1622, by the birth of a daughter, who was named Elizabeth.

From this time, for several years, our family history is limited to a dry record of facts, unaccompanied by any of the details which would be most welcome to our readers. This is the more to be regretted, because the Drakes were closely connected with some of those who took a leading part in the political events of the most interesting period of English history.

In January 1621, after the lapse of seven years, Parliament was again convened; it was adjourned early in June, but reassembled in November. The speech from the throne directed the members to postpone all other business and concern themselves only with Supply for the service of the Palatinate. The House was willing to vote money liberally, even enthusiastically, for this purpose, but, distrusting the King's advisers, it petitioned for a declaration of war with Spain and demanded a Protestant marriage for Prince Charles. James refused the petition, and forbade any further debate on matters of State policy, threatening the speakers with the Tower. This royal command was immediately followed by the famous 'Protestation,' in which the Commons asserted their privilege of free discussion on all questions connected with the welfare of the realm. James, as is well known, sent for the Journals of the House, tore out the pages which contained the 'Protestation,' and on January 6 dissolved Parliament.

Four members were committed to the Tower, and a fifth, John Pym, who sat then for Calne, was ordered to place himself in confinement in his own house in London; three months later he was allowed, on the plea of ill-health, to exchange the place of his restraint for Brymore, his country seat in Somersetshire, but he was not fully at liberty for some time longer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Pym was born at Brymore on May 21, 1584. His father, Alexander Pym, died Jan. 7, 1585. See *Inq. Post Mort.* 27th Elizabeth.

The friendship then existing between the Drakes and Pym, which was afterwards cemented by a much closer tie, dated probably from the early youth of the latter, for before he was five years old his mother became the second wife of Sir Anthony Rouse of Halton; and to this circumstance, indirectly, Tavistock is indebted for the honour of having been represented in Parliament by this truly great and wise man.

In March 1622, no Supply having been voted by the last Parliament, the King was 'again constrained to try the dutiful and forward affections of his loving subjects, by propounding a voluntary contribution.' The magistrates were accordingly enjoined 'to call the knights, gentlemen and subsidy men before them; they were to deal with those of substantial means, one by one, privately, and were directed to return the names of such as obstinately refused to give anything.' On this occasion, the Devonshire Justices seem to have made no opposition to the order for voluntary taxation. The High Sheriff put down his name for forty pounds, other gentlemen gave twenty or ten pounds, while the minimum expected of a Justice of the Peace was four pounds. No doubt alacrity was quickened by the menace of which Walter Yonge tells us in his Diary, 'that as many as will not pay, shall be sent for by the Council, and be committed or be sent in messages into Ireland or the Palatinate,' which was no empty threat, but was actually carried into execution in several instances.

Francis Drake's contribution must have been on a liberal scale this time, seeing that on July 29 he was created a baronet, and that with his patent he received 'a remission of payment of £1,095, the fee which ought to have been paid' on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

George Chudleigh, husband of Lady Drake's eldest

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer of Receipt, Auditor's Privy Seal Books*, vol. i. p. 143.

sister, received like promotion on the same day. He and his wife appear to have been always on the happiest terms with the Drakes of Buckland. We find Sir Francis sending a present of cider to Sir George, who thanks him affectionately for it and for some very especial beef, of his own fattening doubtless, for these country gentlemen all farmed their own lands, and took the liveliest interest in their flocks and herds.

They were not, however, without culture, 'travels, learning and other good deserts,' as is shown in the attractive picture Prince draws of Sir George Chudleigh. His father, a young man of great promise, 'having lived long enough to exhaust his estate,' died, leaving the young George a minor of eight years of age; but 'by careful and prudent trustees and his own virtuous disposition, he had his youth well educated, and his person excellently adorned with all the accomplishments requisite for a fine gentleman; so that having been abroad for the most exquisite breeding his age could yield, he returned home well improved, and fixed his residence at his seat at Ashton.<sup>1</sup> Here his demeanour was so courteous and obliging, and withal so discreet and prudent, that he lived in great esteem and reputation among his neighbours, and was looked upon as an ornament unto his County.' Sir William Pole also describes him in his younger years as 'a grave, understanding, and hopeful gentleman.'

<sup>1</sup> Ashton Barton, described by Sir William Pole as 'the sweet pleasant seat' of the Chudleighs, is about eight miles from Exeter, in a country delightfully diversified with hills, woods and water. Towards the end of the last century the old mansion was converted into a farmhouse, notwithstanding that the park was then still stocked with deer. The substantial handsome stone barn and some of the farm buildings appear to be still much in their original condition. Close above them on a sharply rising hill stands Ashton church, so near to the barton that one standing in the churchyard could easily fire a gun over the roofs; which explains how it was that this house was so easily taken in the Civil War.

The screen in Ashton church is very remarkable and beautiful; it is curiously painted with figures of bishops, saints and angels. In the Chudleigh aisle there is a wooden monument to the memory of Sir George and Mary his wife, emblazoned with many coats-of-arms.



Whilst we are on the topic of Sir Francis Drake's relationships, it is interesting to recall the large number of brothers and sisters-in-law he acquired by his two marriages. They were a goodly band, eighteen in all : six Bamfield brothers and three sisters ; Sir Richard, William, and John Strode, and six sisters whose respective husbands were, Sir George Chudleigh, Sir Samuel Somaster (author of the 'Somaster MSS. '), Sir John Davey of Creedy, Sir John Chichester of Hall, Sir John Young of Stetscombe, and Edward Specot of Anderton in Cornwall.

If we remember, too, that Sir Anthony Rouse was, through his first wife, brother-in-law to Sir William Strode, and by his second marriage stepfather to John Pym, we shall understand how many were the ties, besides those of politics, which united some of the West-country families at this time and during the great struggle between Charles I and his people.

In January 1624, writs were issued for a new Parliament. Sir William Strode was elected for the county of Devon, his son William sat for Beeralston, Sir Francis Drake for Plympton, and Sir George Chudleigh for Tiverton. John Pym now for the first time sat for Tavistock, which place he continued to represent in all succeeding Parliaments until his death. The Houses met on February 12, voted a subsidy, and were prorogued on May 29. They did not meet again in James I's reign. The King died on March 27, 1625, and according to custom on the death of a sovereign, the Parliament expired also.

## CHAPTER II

WHEN Charles I ascended the throne in the spring of 1625, the Government was fully resolved on war with Spain. Parliament was forthwith summoned and asked to vote a liberal Supply, but after debating the matter for three weeks and coming to no conclusion, the Houses adjourned because of the plague, which was then raging in London. In August they met again at Oxford, and, as the Commons still obstinately refused to grant anything approaching the amount demanded, the King dissolved the Parliament at the end of the month.

By degrees the plague spread to other parts of the country, and Exeter was soon badly infected. A letter written from there by Lady Grenville to her husband, Sir Bevil, then at Oxford, gives us an inkling of the state of affairs, as well as the only glimpse we ever get of Elizabeth Bamfield, Sir Francis Drake's sister. During her father-in-law's life, she resided apparently at Bamfield House<sup>1</sup> in Exeter, and

<sup>1</sup> Bamfield House is very little altered, and well repays a visit; the centre stands back, and is separated from the street by a small courtyard, in one corner of which is the entrance porch. This opens into a comfortable but rather low hall, with nice old-fashioned mullioned windows adorned with heraldic devices. The drawing-room and dining-room are upstairs; the former has a most beautiful ceiling. The walls are panelled with oak, handsomely carved, and above the mantelpiece is a boldly sculptured coat-of-arms with many quarterings, on which the old colours still linger. The ceiling of the dining-room is decorative, but less elaborate, and with the exception of a quaint little recess near the fireplace, which has a carved door, all the wainscoting has been removed. These charming old rooms are now used as offices for the Board Schools.

Lady Grenville mentions her as having just departed thence with her children, because of the infection ; ‘ the sickness,’ she adds, ‘ increases apace, and is much dispersed abroad and in the City, and where it comes, it goes through the house and ends all.’

The neighbourhood of Plymouth seems for the time being to have escaped the plague, but the citizens had other grievous troubles. In 1625, from May until July, fresh levies of raw soldiers from all parts of England had been gradually poured into the town, till at last they numbered over six thousand men, besides sailors pressed for the equipment of the fleet ; and here they remained nearly three months longer, quartered upon the inhabitants, no one knowing exactly for what service they were intended.

Sir William Strode, Sir George Chudleigh, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Fownes, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with a few other Deputy-Lieutenants whose names rarely appear, were appointed to be ‘ Commissioners for the government of the Army at Plymouth,’ a most unenviable task, judging from their complaints of the careless way in which recruits were sometimes sent down without any officers having been appointed to receive them.

Towards the end of September the Commissioners must have looked forward to a speedy termination of their troublesome duties, for at that time Charles I came on a visit to Plymouth. He and Buckingham inspected the forces, and his Majesty held a review of the troops on Roborough Down. The King and Queen remained for about ten days at Plymouth ; and not very long after their departure, the mystery which surrounded the warlike preparations was finally cleared up, for on October 5 the expedition was ordered to sail for Spain. Sir George Chudleigh made a little interest to be permitted to go with it. He embarked at Portsmouth in the *Rainbow*, Captain John Chudleigh’s ship, which was to



join the rest of the fleet at Plymouth, but by the time they reached Torbay he had had enough.

Here (he says, in a letter to Sir John Coke) my brother took occasion out of a little sea sickness and a former distemper which I had taken with hard riding, to dissuade me from this voyage, this being my first and my body untoward to the sea; he was confident I should not escape death, which he protested he should not endure to see in his ship, and should hardly enjoy himself afterwards. I was loath to hearken to him, having engaged your honour in a suit to my Lord Duke to make me one of the Council of War. I took a solemn leave of my Lord General and hope to obtain your honour's liking also for my stay; I cannot choose but blush to think that I should not answer all points of your expectation.

It was well for Sir George that he followed his brother's advice, for no increase of honour could have come to him if he had persisted. Everything connected with the expedition was so disgracefully mismanaged, that 'after an idle descent on Cadiz, it returned to Plymouth in December, broken down with mutiny and disease.'

The citizens, fearing the infection, declined to receive the sick soldiers into their houses. Some actually died in the streets through cold and want, and the men were all in such a pitifully ragged condition that they could not be exercised, although the charitable mayor gave shirts to the most necessitous.

The plague now began to appear in the town, and added greatly to the difficulty experienced by the Commissioners in finding quarters for the large body of half-disciplined men thrown on their hands by order of the Council, who desired that the soldiers should be billeted in Plymouth and the villages around until required for future service.

An enormous debt had been incurred in the equipment of the Cadiz fleet and army, and, as the subsidy money had

been wasted, Parliament had to be summoned in order to vote the funds required for carrying on the foreign wars on which the King and Buckingham had set their hearts.

The Houses met at Westminster on February 6, 1626. Sir John Eliot, who led the Commons, began by demanding an inquiry into the Cadiz voyage. He drew especial attention to the wretched condition of the army at Plymouth. 'I could lose myself,' he said, 'in this complaint, the miseries, the calamities which our Western parts have both seen and still feel, strike so strong an apprehension on me.' All this belongs to history. The resolution of the Commons to defer the consideration of a subsidy till they should have presented their grievances and received his Majesty's answer, the impeachment of Buckingham, and the King's hasty dissolution of Parliament in order to save his favourite, require only a passing allusion.

With the rising of Parliament, letters from the Commissioners again became frequent. In the beginning of May, they reminded the Council that the soldiers had neither clothes nor pay, and 'that want of money is as bad as a famine.' They reported that the plague had spread to all the parishes where the men were billeted, and entreated that the army might be moved elsewhere. Such letters, in increasing urgency, followed week after week, but seem to have been absolutely disregarded, the Council not even vouchsafing 'comfortable answers.' Towards the end of the month the Commissioners wrote desperately, that the plague was so far spread that they could no longer meet without hazard of their lives; and two days later they ordered all the troops yet remaining in Plymouth to leave Drake's Island and the Fort and encamp in the fields about Plympton. Then a regular stampede began; a Spanish invasion was daily expected, and panic was added to the horrors of the sickness. The frightened mayor wrote to

the Council asking 'to be better assisted'; the place might easily be overrun, he said, by fire and sword, the troops had gone, two hundred families had departed, and 'there was not left with him in the town either magistrate (two only excepted) or common man of the better sort, or constable to aid in governing the visited people.'

Temporary pesthouses had to be put up, and two thousand persons died in Plymouth before the plague was stayed.

The Drakes seem to have left Buckland Abbey and to have taken refuge during this time in Sir William Strode's house at Meavy, fearful, no doubt, of remaining near the village of Buckland Monachorum, which was badly infected. Strange to say, at this season of distress, even the sanitary precautions usual in those days were neglected. 'The plague is scattered abroad in divers villages in the County,' says Arthur Worth, 'through the disorder of the people, for they will an it be but to get sixpence, goe to those that have the plague and buy and sell with them their clothes, and goe up and down into folks houses that have the plague sore running upon them.'

The same letter says that 'there is daily looking for the Spanish army, the poor soldiers complain exceedingly for want of their pay and clothes, they are so ragged and torn that it is pitiful to behold them; the country also complain for want of the money they should have for their billeting, they live in hope but have nothing come, all victuals are growen to be very deare here and the Country is like to be much the worse unless the King be pleased to take some speedy course to remove them hence.'

The Commissioners were also of this opinion, but they had evidently given up expecting reasonable good government from such incompetent ministers, and, as they could do no more than punctually report the condition of affairs to headquarters, the least nervous of their number met in a house



belonging to the Chudleigh family about three miles from Ivy Bridge, and from there wrote the following letter to the Council :

May it please your Lordships :

We doubt not you contemn our complaints in regard to the fewnes of the Commissioners that subscribe them, the reason you shall by these understand ; there is a great neglect in some whose feare of the plague, or the necessity of the soldier, we conceive, exceeds the care of their duties. For the plague we are frighted from our publike meetings, and do this day convent in a private house. For the soldiers we were so straightened at our last meeting as we knew not where to dispose of tenn soldiers drawn out of Stonehouse for the infection, but were fayne out of our own purses to provide them meate. But not to trouble your Lordships with that which we have oft advertised, the Officer is soe discontented, the Souldier soe desperate, the Clothier and billetor soe impoverished, as we justly suspect by our next you shall hear of all to be in an uproare. Your Lordships may at last think of it at your leisure, which we desire the Almighty to hasten you unto. In the meane time we will not faile of our parte to continue as heretofore our duties, though with the losse of our reputations and lives, as those that desire to approve themselves true subjects of the King, lovers of our Country and your honours

Humble servants,

GEO : CHUDLEIGH.      FRA : DRAKE.

WILLIAM STRODE.      SAMSON HELE.

THOMAS FOWNES.

Stretchleigh, July 1st, 1626.

Five days later the predicted crisis happened, although not quite in the manner the Commissioners had expected.

On July 6, a messenger sent by Captain Heigham, Deputy Governor of the Fort, arrived in hot haste at Meavy, bearing a letter addressed 'To Baronet Drake or any other Commissioner for the Army' who might happen to be there, requiring him in the King's name to call out the trained bands, and immediately to garrison the Fort and Island by

sending back the companies lately removed; for that 'direct and certain news' had been received from Penzance, of four hundred sail seen off the Land's End, which without doubt were Spaniards, some of whom were believed to have landed already. Captain Heigham added that in Plymouth they lived in a perpetual state of alarm, having seen fifty ships in the offing, which 'by every sine and all the reason in the world they took to be enemies.'

It was a simple matter to order the companies properly belonging to Plymouth to return there, but to call out the county trained bands was a more serious affair. Sir William Strode, with his sons-in-law, Sir George Chudleigh and Sir Francis Drake, rode to Crediton without delay, there to consult with other Deputy-Lieutenants, when, to add to their perplexity, they discovered that none of them knew whose duty it was, in the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant, to take supreme command of the troops in the field; so it was decided to send news of the supposed landing to the Council and to await instructions.

Meanwhile, the two companies which had been marched back into the plague-stricken town were not received as saviours of their country, for they found the gates of the Fort closed against them, 'so as they could not be drawn to enter, by their own officers nor the Captaine of the Forte, till they had capitulated for their clothes.'

All this is told in a letter to the Council written by Sir William Strode, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir George Chudleigh, on their return from Crediton. They explained the origin of the late alarm, and requested the Council to send 'so much ready money as will redeem the clothes out of the contractor's hands, pay the officers, that they may pay their debts here, and conduct the army out of the Country,'—for that was the perpetual burden of their letters. They urge that the towns and parishes of Devon are many of them

as mortal as an enemy, and suggest that there are other places on the south coast more likely for an enemy to aim at, that are free from this fearful trouble of the infection, 'and have not at all been charged with this grievous lending to his Majesty of billeting his army without money.'

So intolerable was the situation, that a week later the Deputy-Lieutenants sent Sir George Chudleigh to London, to entreat the Council 'that the County of Devon be discharged of those soldiers which have been kept here for the last year upon the charge of the County and live disorderly.' His arguments and prayers, however, were of no avail, for the army was not removed until March 1628.

We have perhaps dwelt almost too long upon this subject, but it gives a picture of the active lives of country gentlemen in the days of Charles I, or at least of such as were magistrates, for the government of the counties seems to have been managed almost entirely by commissioners selected from the Deputy-Lieutenants and the Justices of the Peace. There were commissions for the benevolence, commissions for the government of the army, for the navy, for recommending persons to be created baronets, for assessing the forced loans, and so forth; and such gentlemen as Sir William Strode and Sir George Chudleigh, whose names are affixed to almost every report, must have been constantly on the move.

Their frequent journeys to Exeter and Plymouth had to be made on horseback, the roads being at some points impassable for wheels. Between London and Exeter it was possible to drive, but not much farther, as we find by a letter from a Somersetshire contractor who had undertaken to deliver some barrels of gunpowder at Plymouth. He says that as far as Exeter the wains could take them, but that there the powder must be removed into sacks and carried on on horseback.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Men and women, too, were so much in the saddle in those days that they made light of riding distances which seem to us to be considerable. 'Our gentry,'



One might have supposed that with a Commissionership of the Army and other county matters to attend to, Sir Francis would scarcely have found leisure for editing a book; yet it was in the year 1626 that he published the first edition of 'SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, Revived. Calling upon this dull effeminate Age to follow his noble steps for Gold and Silver.' This little book treats only of his uncle's voyage to the West Indies in the years 1572 and 1573; we shall have occasion to discuss it farther on, and only draw attention here to the time of its publication. It was dedicated to Charles I, probably by permission obtained when the King was at Plymouth. War with Spain had just been declared, to pay for which gold and silver were being wrung from his Majesty's unwilling subjects by every process of arbitrary taxation that the Council could devise, and it may well have seemed to the Devonshire baronet, that if only some heroic Englishmen would seize the King of Spain's treasure fleet, and sack a few towns in the Spanish Indies, as used to be done in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the Exchequer would be filled without so much pressure and privation at home.

Many persons, no doubt, took the same view, but independently of this, the little book merited its well-timed success.<sup>1</sup> It came out in the autumn, probably just at the moment when the King and Buckingham withdrew the Benevolence as insufficient, and resolved on demanding a forced loan.

as Prince says, 'kept their stables of brave horses and were noble in their equipage when they went abroad.' Twenty horses seem to have been the average number at Buckland, where six would now largely and handsomely suffice. The class of animal was different, however, and so was the price. Thomas Drake claimed £6 10s. 6d. compensation for the loss of a riding mare, 'culler red,' which had been allowed to stray away, by reason whereof he had sustained losses in following business and other urgent affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Drake's own copy, daintily bound in white vellum tooled with gold, and tied with green silk strings, is preserved at Nutwell Court. It will be remembered that green and white were Queen Elizabeth's favourite colours.

Commissions were accordingly sent to the Lord-Lieutenants of counties, requiring them to return the names of all the freeholders in their counties, competent to lend money to the King on Privy Seals, with the amount that might be expected of each landowner set against his name. Gentlemen who had been created baronets were to be excused, and those who had formerly contributed were to be excused one half.

Very few Justices and Deputy-Lieutenants sat on the Devonshire Commission; those who did, felt the task to be exceedingly invidious and irksome. It was, they said, 'against the stream of their natures to give information of this kind; nevertheless, they had gone through with it as a duty, and enclosed a certificate of such men as they conceived might with the least inconvenience lend to his Majesty the sums set against their names,' but they expressed a hope that the King would 'not have an often recourse' to this kind of supply, 'but rather to those which for their antiquity and indifferency, were, and ever would be, more pleasing to his subjects.'

Unfortunately, the list which the Commissioners sent in has not been preserved among the State Papers; Green's History says that Devonshire 'utterly refused the forced loan.' This, however, was not quite the case; the majority may have declined to pay, but some well-to-do persons certainly were amenable, for the county records show that a sum of £9,300 was so raised in 1627, and that it was devoted to the maintenance of the soldiers who were billeted upon Plymouth.

Sir Francis Drake was not one of those who were required to swell the loan, which may account for the fact that although in this year he added the manor of Knightshayne<sup>1</sup> to his

<sup>1</sup> The manor of Knightshayne was bought from Sir Bevil Grenville at a cost of £350; the present value of the same lands is £200 per annum, a discrepancy so large that we are only able to account for it on the supposition that Sir Francis was already in possession on a long lease, and that this was taken into consideration.

Yarcombe estate, he was able, notwithstanding, to benefit the Orphans' Aid Hospital at Plymouth, by surrendering in its favour half the annual rents of the Town Mills and fields, of which he held the unexpired remainder of his uncle's sixty years' lease.

But for his recent creation as a baronet, Sir Francis would have been more likely than many others in Devonshire to be invited to contribute handsomely towards the loan, for the members of the various commissions were selected usually from those who were known 'for their good affections' to the Government, and no gentlemen who expected to receive any favour or consideration from Court or Council could decline lending to the King on Privy Seal. How imprudent it was for such to resist is shown by a letter from Lord Clifford, in the Strafford correspondence.

My dear Brother, I cannot hope to see you receive the least favour the great ones can abridge you of, if you still refuse, neither dare any move the King in behalf of any gentleman refuser, for his heart is so inflamed in this business as he vows a perpetual Remembrance as well as present punishment, and although the Duke will be gone<sup>1</sup> shortly, yet can no man expect to receive any ease by his absence, since the King takes the punishment into his own direction.

The prisons were soon filled with poor men and tradesmen who had refused the loan, whilst country gentlemen who opposed it were either heavily fined in the Star Chamber, or banished to counties far removed from their homes, and there so closely confined that they were not even permitted to go to church.

Nor was all this enough. One by one, monopolies were placed on almost every article of daily use and consumption, from starch, soap, coals, linen, cloth and the like, down even to hats, spectacles and combs, all of which were in consequence

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Buckingham was on the point of sailing to the Isle of Rhé.



heavily taxed. Obsolete Acts of Parliament were hunted up, and those who had contravened them were forced to compound. 'Here is at this present time,' says a contemporary, 'a Commission in execution against cottagers who have not four acres of land laid to their houses, upon a Statute made 31 Elizabeth, which vexeth the poor people mightily, all for the benefit of Lord Morton and the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Lord Sterling.' For the worst feature of these extortions was that the money they brought in did not benefit the Crown, but went to fill the pockets of rapacious courtiers.

With evidence perpetually before his eyes of the oppressiveness of all this arbitrary taxation, Walter Yonge<sup>1</sup> records in his Diary, with very natural reprobation, 'that the Duke of Buckingham feasted the King, Queen, and French Ambassador, and bestowed £4,000 in a banquet. The sweet water which cost him £200 came down the room as a shower from heaven. The banquet let down in a sheet upon the table, no man seeing how it came; with other pompous vanities to waste and consume money, the country being in poverty, and more necessary occasions calling for it.'

The condition of the labouring classes in Devon and the south coast counties must have been lamentable indeed during those years, so frequent were the presses for soldiers and seamen. One of the most odious duties of a Devonshire Justice of the Peace was to see that in every village a private weekly search was made for sailors; and such was 'the hiding and flying away of mariners for want of pay and bad victuals,' that the ships equipped at Plymouth to take part in the expedition to Rochelle had to be manned 'with lame untrained soldiers . . . very unfit for such a service.'

<sup>1</sup> Walter Yonge was High Sheriff of Devonshire in 1628. His eldest son, John Yonge, who was knighted by Charles I at Ford House near Newton Abbot in 1625, married Margaret Strode, a younger sister of Lady Drake.

The immediate result of this disastrous undertaking, as far as England was concerned, was to compel King Charles to summon a parliament. Writs were issued at the beginning of April, and the Houses met on March 17, 1628.

Sir William Strode was not a member of this Parliament, but his sons, Richard and William, were both returned, and so also was Sir Francis Drake, who with his brother-in-law, John Bamfield, received acknowledgment of their private worth, as well as testimony to the popularity of their opinions, by being elected as the two knights of the shire for Devon.

The journey to London took a week. The roads were not very safe, and country gentlemen travelled together for mutual protection. We may well suppose that for part of the way, at any rate, these brothers and brothers-in-law rode in company, not only of their friend, John Pym, who had been kept in prison since the last Parliament, and had only just been released on his election for Tavistock, but also of the patriotic Sir John Eliot, of whom William Strode was the faithful political disciple.

What stirring words, what steadfast counsel must have passed between these earnest men! The burden of their talk, surely, was how to bring reason to bear upon a king without understanding—indifferent to the miseries of his subjects—how to put before him the people's most just demands and constrain him to deal faithfully with them. For the Parliament then about to meet was, we should remember, the one which presented the Petition of Rights.

This petition asked for no new thing, only that the ancient lawful liberties of Englishmen should be preserved to them. There was to be no more taxation without the consent of the Commons, no more quartering of soldiers on private individuals, liberty of debate in Parliament was to be preserved unimpaired, and, above all, there was to be an end

for ever of arbitrary imprisonment on the mere warrant of the King, without cause shown.

To all this Charles consented, and a large Supply was promptly voted ; but differences on the subject of tonnage and poundage (the Customs dues) almost immediately arose between the King and the Commons, and, lest he should receive any further remonstrances, Charles went down to the House on June 26 and hastily prorogued Parliament.

Members now had a six months' recess, and it was, we suppose, during this interval that Sir Francis Drake gave his attention to the publication of his second book, 'The World Encompassed,' which came out in the year 1628. His first literary venture, 'Sir Francis Drake Revived,' was only edited, not written, by him. It was, as the title-page tells us, a relation of his uncle's voyage to the West Indies in 1572 and 1573. 'Truthfully taken out of the Reporte of Mr. Christopher Ceely, Ellis Hixon, and others who were of the voyage with them. By Philip Nichols, Preacher. Reviewed also by Sir Francis Drake himself before his death, and much holpen and enlarged by divers notes with his own hand here and there inserted.'

The original dedication to Queen Elizabeth by the first Sir Francis Drake, dated January 1592, would lead us to suppose that it had been his intention to publish the book immediately ; yet for some reason, probably want of time to put it into its final shape, it was not brought out in his lifetime. Thomas Drake was perhaps too much wrapped up in his lawsuits to take interest in any literature which would not increase his store of legal knowledge, and thus it was reserved for his son to 'set forth' the work. He did this in two prefaces, one addressed to Charles I, the other to 'The Courteous Reader.' The dedication to the King, which precedes the original one to Queen Elizabeth, is written in simple, manly language, perfectly loyal and respectful, yet



free from the fulsome compliments so much in vogue at the time. We give it *in extenso*, for 'style is the dress of thought,' and as no portrait of the first Drake baronet has been preserved, the reader's mental picture of him can only be drawn from his way of thinking and writing.

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY  
CHARLES THE FIRST OF GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE AND  
IRELAND KING.

All the blessings of this and a better life.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

That the brief treatise is yours both by right and succession, will appeere by the Authors & Actors ensuing Dedication: To prayse either the Mistris or the Servant, might justly incur the censure of *Quis eos unquam sanus vituperavit*, either's worth having sufficiently blazed their fame.

This present looseth nothing by glancing on former actions, and the observations of passed adventures may probably advantage future employments. Ceasar wrote his own Commentaries; and this doer was partly the Inditor: Neither is there wanting living testimony to confirm its truth. For his sake then cherish what's good & I shall willingly entertaine check for what's amisse. Your favourable acceptance may encourage my collecting of more neglected Noates: however, though Vertue (as lands) be not inheritable, yet hath he left of his Name one that resolves and there in joyes to approve himselfe

Your most humble

and loyall Subject,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

The address to 'The Courteous Reader' is somewhat longer than the above, but it also is pitched in a very modest key. After treating of the parentage, life, and adventures of his uncle, and recalling his 'filling Plymouth with a plentiful streame of fresh water,' Sir Francis concludes thus:

but I passe by all these, I had rather thou shouldest enquire of others, than to seem myself a vain glorious man. I intend not his prayse, I strive only to set out the truth of his and our

good God, that guided him in his truth and protected him in his courses : my ends are to stirre thee up to the worship of God, and service to the King and Country by his example ; if anything be worthy of thy consideration conclude with me that the Lord only can doe great things.

The same patriotic motive is likewise set forth on the title-page of 'The World Encompassed,' as the chief reason for offering that work also to 'publique view,' and, accordingly, Sir Francis selected as patron of his book one who was sure to be in full sympathy with its purpose, for Robert, Earl of Warwick,<sup>1</sup> to whom the following dedication is addressed, had an adventure fleet of his own.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Fame and envie are both needlesse to the dead because unknowne, sometimes dangerous to the living when too well knowne ; reason enough that I rather choose to say nothing than too little in the prayse of the deceased Author,<sup>2</sup> or of your Lordship my desired favior. Columbus did neatly checke his emulators by rearing an egge without assistance. Let the slighter of this voyage applye. If your Lordship vouchsafe the acceptance, tis yours, if the Reader can picke out either use or content, tis his, and I am pleased. Example being the publique, and your Lordship's favor the private, aim of

Your humbly devoted

FRANCIS DRAKE.

The 'danger to the living' just glanced at is an unmistakable allusion to the recent assassination of the Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, was son of the beautiful Penelope Devereux, daughter of the Earl of Essex, under whom Sir Francis Drake served in Ireland in 1575. The story of her *liaison* with Charles, Lord Mountjoy, and subsequent marriage to him, is well known. Robert Rich was the eldest son of her first marriage ; he was born in 1587, and succeeded to his father's title and estates in 1618 ; in the troubled time of the Civil War he sided with the Parliament, and under the Commonwealth was appointed Lord High Admiral of England. An excellent portrait of him is in the national collection at Greenwich Hospital.

<sup>2</sup> The book was taken from the notes of Francis Fletcher, Preacher ; it is not he, however, but the author of the voyage, Sir Francis Drake, who is here meant.

Buckingham, 'too well known' for his disastrous influence on the King's foreign policy and generally regarded as the prompter and organiser of the arbitrary, oppressive measures which were year by year becoming more and more exasperating to the nation.



### CHAPTER III

WHEN Parliament reassembled in 1629, differences between the King and Commons began again immediately and more irreconcilably than before, because religion was now the subject of the quarrel, for, whilst Charles considered it to be his duty and part of his inherent right as head of the Church to compel conformity with the High Church doctrines of which his conscience approved, the majority of the Commons were resolved on the other hand to be themselves the judges of legal orthodoxy, and to suppress everything but the sternest, baldest Calvinism, which they as honestly believed to be the only way of salvation. Of religious liberty for all, equally, no one then had the slightest idea.

Few of the West-country gentlemen, and certainly neither the Pym, the Chudleighs, nor the Drakes, held extreme views, and we may as well state here once for all that, although the latter were of the Parliamentary party and distinctly Protestant, they were always staunch members of the Church of England.

It was not religion, however, but tonnage and poundage which brought about the prorogation of Parliament on March 2, and caused the final extraordinary scene, when, in defiance of the King's message of adjournment, Hollis and Valentine forcibly held the Speaker in the chair, whilst William Strode called upon the members to show by standing up whether they wished to proceed. As, with a shout of

assent, almost every one rose in his place, Hollis put Eliot's three resolutions to the vote, and the House greeted them with hearty shouts of Ay! Ay! whilst Black Rod was impatiently knocking at the door.

Charles at once dissolved Parliament and ordered the arrest of the nine members who had taken the most prominent parts in that day's turbulent proceedings. The prisoners demanded to be bailed, but the King would not permit it, and, lest the Judges should accede to their request, he removed the offenders privately from the King's Bench to the Tower. After they had been imprisoned for about a year, some were set free, some were fined, and some signed the submission which the King required. But Eliot, Strode and Valentine took their stand on the privileges of Parliament, and would not buy their liberty at the price of subservience. We need not pursue this well-known story more closely. Eliot's health gave way under the rigour of his confinement, and most of his old friends vainly besought him, for his children's sake and theirs, to make some concessions in order to obtain his release and save his life. So intense was the King's hatred of Eliot, that even his dead body was denied to his son, who asked for permission to bury it at St. Germans.

William Strode and Valentine were less harshly treated, and their confinement, though equally illegal, was not so rigorous as that of Eliot. He was detained permanently at the Tower, whilst they were transferred to the King's Bench prison, where they could see their friends and had the advantage of frequent 'day rules' which gave them some hours of comparative liberty. In the summer of 1630, upon a virulent sickness breaking out in London, they petitioned to be transferred to the Gate House, which petition being granted, they were thereby enabled without much difficulty to get farther afield, and spent three months in visiting their friends. They had to pay for their so-called 'escape,'

however, by a closer confinement for several weeks after their return to prison, and their keeper was mulcted in £100 for the holiday he had allowed them.

Strode and Valentine were eleven years in confinement, and did not regain their liberty till January 1640, when Charles was obliged to release them before he called a new Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

But, ere that day came, old Sir William Strode was dead, and so also was Sir Francis Drake ; there were no more Parliaments in their time. They devoted the remainder of their lives to private and county business, with one more memorable visit to London in each other's company, as we shall see.

Whilst following these matters of public interest, we have omitted to chronicle certain domestic events, the birth of Sir Francis and Lady Drake's third son, John, born in 1624, that of the fourth son, William, baptised in November 1627, and that of their daughter, Sarah, who was born in October 1629. We should also mention here that in 1630 the first regular weekly post was established between London and Plymouth. Letters were to take three days in going and the same number in returning, and arrangements were made for delivery within twenty miles of the high road. The scheme, which was a private one in the first instance, was afterwards adopted by Government, and the very moderate charge was made of twopence a letter for a distance of eighty miles.

In the autumn of 1631, Sir Francis Drake received an order from the Privy Council, which must have been a singularly unpleasant one for him to comply with. The story is curious and, as it concerns the Sir Richard Grenville who possessed himself of Buckland Abbey during the Civil War, it is not out of place to relate it here.

<sup>1</sup> Rosingham's *News Letter*, Jan. 24, 1640, Add. MSS. 11645, fol. 87. See also *Somaster MSS.* and Pym's speech at the opening of Parliament in 1640.



It will be remembered that in the first part of this book we spoke of the family of Fitz of Fitzford as having from a very early period had neighbourly and fiduciary relations with the Drakes of Tavistock, and we suggested that it was at Fitzford that Sir Francis Drake (the Warrior) first met his wife, Elizabeth Sydenham.

Mr. John Fitz, grandson of the John Fitz who, we believe, befriended Edmund Drake, was in his time an eminent counsellor at law; he was also a very curious as well as a learned person, and in the habit of prying into the secrets of astrology. It is related of him that when his son was about to be born, being desirous of inquiring into the fortune of the infant, 'he erected a scheme to calculate the matter, and as it often falls out in such unjustifiable curiosities, finding at that time an unlucky position of the heavens, he desired the midwife if possible to hinder the birth but for one hour; which not being done, he declared that the child would come to an unhappy end and undo his family. And it fell out accordingly.'<sup>1</sup>

For some years it seemed as though, in spite of the stars, the young man's life might be an honourable and a happy one. His father died during his minority, but very soon after he succeeded to his estates he married Bridget, daughter of Sir William Courtenay, and a little later he was knighted. The uncontrollable violence of his temper, however, gradually brought about his predicted doom. In 1599, in the heat of passion, he stabbed Sir Nicholas Slanning. For this crime, through the influence of his friends, he obtained Queen Elizabeth's pardon, but six years later

Sir John was so unhappy as to be guilty of a second murder, and thereupon flying from his country so far as Salisbury or thereabout, in his way to London to sue out a second pardon, hearing some Body about his chamber door, early

<sup>1</sup> Prince's *Worthies of Devon*.

in the morning, and fearing it had been Officers come to apprehend him, by mistake, in the dark he slew one of the House come to awaken him as he desired in order to his journey. When the lights came that made him sensible of the horrid and atrocious Fact, which he had afresh committed ; overwhelmed with Sorrow and Despair he fell upon his sword and slew himself.

Sir John Fitz left one daughter, Mary, who was nine years old at the time of this tragedy ; she inherited her father's handsome features, and a touch, perhaps, of his passionate temper. Little Mary Fitz was a great heiress, for she had a clear rental of £700 a year, besides houses, flocks, herds, and other goodly possessions. The terrible law of wardship deprived her early of her mother's care, and this child of tender age became ward to the Earl of Northumberland. As soon as she was twelve years old he married her to his brother, Sir Allan Percy, and whilst the bride was still too young for their union to be anything but a nominal one, Sir Allan 'went on his travels' and died. Mary Percy was now fifteen years old, and her hand was much sought after, 'but she chose her second husband for herself, by eloping one evening with my Lord Darcy's eldest son, a youth of the same age as herself. Young Darcy, however, only survived his matrimony a few months ;'<sup>1</sup> and before Mary was sixteen a third husband was found for her in the person of Sir Charles Howard, who, it is said, committed suicide in the year 1622, leaving her with two daughters and an additional jointure of £600 per annum. She now remained a widow for six years ; perhaps suitors were a little timid of coming forward, for she certainly seems to have been what the Italians would call 'jettatrice,' and as a curious coincidence, we may mention that her coat-of-arms, which, as she was an heiress, would be permanently impaled with that of her husband, was 'Argent,

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Grenville Family.*

a cross gules guttee de sang!’ During her widowhood, we suppose that she lived mostly at Fitzford, for at that time landowners were compelled by a Star Chamber decree to reside upon their estates for nine months out of the twelve, and, as her family were such old friends of the Drakes and the distance between the houses is but five miles, it is probable that they knew each other very well indeed.

In November 1628, at the solicitation of the Duke of Buckingham, Lady Howard somewhat reluctantly became the wife of Sir Richard Grenville, younger son of Sir Francis’s old friend, Sir Barnard, and unworthy brother of the chivalrous Sir Bevil Grenville of Stowe.

Sir Richard and the lady were distantly connected, and she probably knew more about him than he supposed, for before the wedding she conveyed all her property into the hands of trustees, for her own sole use and benefit. When the disappointed bridegroom discovered how his wife’s property had been tied up, his rage was terrible; he commenced a series of insults and threats by way of revenge, and his violence and bad language were such that she had to appeal to the Justices of the Peace for protection. There was a good deal of mutual recrimination. Sir Richard accused Lady Howard (she never took his name) of using taunting words, and she produced evidence that he had threatened to murder her; indeed, on one occasion he really appears to have tried to suffocate her with smoke. She had a daughter by him and a son, and then she left her husband and instituted proceedings against him for the recovery of her property. Meanwhile, Sir Richard, who had remained in possession of Fitzford, was suspected of coining, and in August 1631, by the direction of the Privy Council, Sir Francis Drake and Sir William Strode visited the house. They wrote an account of the morning’s work to their Lordships, explaining that although they had gone as soon as they possibly could,



news of what was intended had reached Sir Richard Grenville (probably through the jeweller who had informed against him) and he had conveyed himself out of the way. Sir Francis and Sir William thoroughly searched 'tronkes, chests and cabinetts,' examined Mrs. Katherine Abbot, Sir Richard's aunt, who had rule of the house, and the servants. All were very civil, obliging, and willing to give up the keys, but beyond a few files and such like small tools, and something in the nature of a crucible wherein silver lace had been melted, they discovered nothing incriminating. This, for Sir Bevil's sake and for the sake of the whole county, must have been a great relief to the investigators.

Sir Richard, having thus fallen under a cloud, and furthermore, having been compelled to surrender his wife's property, complained that for him there was no justice in England, and retired to Germany, where he took service under Gustavus Adolphus. When next we meet with him we shall find him in very different circumstances, enjoying the favour of his sovereign and enriching himself at the expense of his wife and the Devonshire magistrates who had aforetime offended him.

This unpleasant affair at Fitzford, in which Sir Francis had to take a part in spite of himself, is the only event recorded in our family chronicles for the year 1631; but the death of his sister, Elizabeth Bamfield, appears to have taken place somewhere about this time. She is little more than a name to us, for there is no picture of her either at Buckland or at Poltimore. She was mother of eight sons and seven daughters. Her husband survived her, was High Sheriff of the county in 1635, and died somewhere between that year and 1640.

In February 1632, another little girl, named Joan, was born at Buckland Abbey, and before this baby was quite a month old, Sir Francis had the misfortune to lose his excellent mother.

Madam Drake, who had been in failing health for several months, was about seventy-five years of age at the time of her death. Her will is interesting; if we study it carefully, reading between the lines as it were, it seems to let us into the inmost secret of the old lady's heart, that her deep love for her first husband had never changed, and that the moorland home of her early married days was dearer to her than Buckland where she had spent the last thirty years of her life. But although she assigned the bulk of her possessions to the Elfords, to whom perhaps they of right belonged, as coming from their father, she was fond and proud of her Drake children and grandchildren, and left to each of them a token of affectionate remembrance.

I give and bequeath to my son Sir Francis Drake Knight and Baronett, my greatest golde ringe with the greatest Greene stone, and whereas my said son Sir Francis Drake standeth bound unto me for the payment of seven hundred pounds of lawful money of England which he oweth to me, my will and meaning is that he shall pay noe use or interest for the forbearance thereof during my life, soe as he pay in the said moneys unto my executor within some reasonable time after my death, whereby my said executor may therewith better paye and satisfye my legacies in due tyme according to my bequeathes. Item I give and bequeath unto the Lady Joan Drake now wife of the said Sir Francis Drake, my best damaske coate, my best goolde borders and my chaine of goolde, and I give and bequeath unto their son Francis Drake, my second best goolde ring with a greene stone,<sup>1</sup> and to their daughter Mary Drake my god-daughter, one goolde ring with five diamonds in the same. Item I give unto the fower other children of my said son Sir Francis Drake, to each of them a piece of plate worth fortie shillings, to be bought and delivered by my executor. Item I give and bequeath to every of the children of my daughter Elizabeth Bamfield, lately deceased, which shall be living at my dying day, a piece of plate worth forty shillings likewise to be bought and delivered by my executor.

<sup>1</sup> Were these 'greene stones' part of Sir John Hawkins's 'crosse of emered'.

Then follow bequests to her Elford children and grandchildren. Hugh is the only one entirely left out; he was incumbent of Walkhampton, and witnessed his grandmother's will, so it is to be presumed that he received from her own hands whatever she wished him to have.

To William Elford, her second son, Madam Drake bequeathed £100.

To her eldest son, Walter, she left £40, and to his wife, Barbara, a pair of gold buttoned borders, her pomander garnished with gold and all her apparel not otherwise bequeathed.

To their eldest son, John—her residuary legatee—the use of all her plate for his life, with remainder to his heirs forever, and to John's wife, Elizabeth, 'my goolde bracelette.'

To Walter, second son of Walter and Barbara, his grandmother bequeathed all the lands, tenements and hereditaments she had lately purchased at Plymouth.

To her granddaughters, the four younger children of Walter and Barbara, she gave legacies of £100 apiece. Their eldest sister, Frances, 'wife to Richard Langworthie gent,' had probably been given her portion when she married, for she now received only a bequest of 'my blacke gowne laid with lace and my redd petticoate which I had last newly made,' but her little girl, Elizabeth Langworthie, Madam Drake's godchild, was to have £10.

Phillipa Croker and Thomas Gregorie, Madam Drake's cousins, as well as Florence, wife of Patchowa Lappa, were each to have a gold ring worth twenty shillings.

To her manservant and her maidservant 'which should be in the house with her at the time of her death,' she gave twenty shillings apiece. Twelvepence to each of her poorest god-children, and 'twelvepence to all and everie of the servants which should be dwelling as household servants with her son, Walter Elford, at the time of her death.' The poor



people of the parishes in which she was most interested received bequests in the following curious proportions.

To the poor people of Shittistor (where even two hundred years later there were scarcely twenty houses), £50 ; to those of the 'towne of Buckland Monachorum,' forty shillings ; to the parishes of Walkhampton, Meavy, and Samford Spiney, twenty shillings each ; ten pounds to the poor people of Plymouth, and forty shillings to those of Plympton St. Mary, her birthplace.

In a little memorandum added to her will, Madam Drake especially desired that, soon after her burial, her executor should 'bestowe these blackes here mentioned, namely, to her son, William Elford, a blacke cloake, to the manservant who should wear her livery at her dying day, a black cloake, and to her granddaughter, Frances Langworthie, a blacke gowne.'

Walter Elford was appointed to be his mother's executor, and all the arrangements connected with her funeral were to be at his sole discretion. To him no doubt she had confided what she did not care to put on paper—her earnest desire to be buried near his father in the vault beneath the Elford family pew at Shepstor, and there, whatever Sir Francis may have felt about the disposal of his mother's remains, she was accordingly buried on March 18, 1632.

About eight months later, Sir Francis Drake was nominated to be the next High Sheriff for the county of Devon, and, accordingly, he held that office from February 1633 to February 1634. A good deal of very picturesque pomp was attached to the shrievalty in those days. At the time of the assizes, when the Sheriff rode out to meet the Judges and escort them into the county town, it was customary that he should be attended by at least forty retainers wearing his livery, and if he were a man of much wealth and position, who did things handsomely, double that number was not considered inappropriate to the occasion.

The duties of the High Sheriffs were more extended in the seventeenth century than they are now ; if a subsidy or any new impost was to be levied, it was to the Sheriffs of the counties that the writs were in the first instance addressed. They and the Justices of the Peace arranged for the assessment of the taxes, guided by the directions of the Council in fiscal matters, as well as in the administration of justice.

There is nothing to record respecting Sir Francis Drake's year of office ; the business, which was purely official, presents no especial points of interest, even as regards the criminals to be punished, for the majority of these were merely vagabonds and 'tipplers.'

John Bamfield succeeded his brother-in-law in the shrievalty, and his was a very memorable year, for on October 20, 1634, the first writ for ship-money was issued.

In times of danger to the nation, it had not been considered unconstitutional for the King to call on certain maritime towns each to set forth a ship for the service of the country ; but England was now at peace, no war or invasion seemed imminent, and above all, Parliament had not been consulted. Yet the first levy of ship-money appears to have met with very little persistent opposition ; after more or less of a struggle, most of the towns resigned themselves to the impost, believing that it was an extraordinary occasion, not likely to recur.

Plymouth and the ports of Devon did not refuse to pay, but there were certain towns, five or six miles remote from the sea, which were now for the first time charged with ship-money, and the inhabitants claimed exemption. We are not told the names of these towns—they were probably small, poor places—but the legality of their contention seems to have been recognised by the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, whose duty it was to assess the ship-money ; accordingly, they met together in force to consider

the matter. Well aware of the unpopularity of remonstrance, they resolved to show a bold front, and fifteen gentlemen—probably the whole Committee of Assessment—signed their names to a letter drawn up by Sir George Chudleigh, requesting of the Council ‘that these towns might be spared the tax, and saying that it was a novelty.’ The letter, we learn, ‘was very ill taken,’ and five leading Deputy-Lieutenants, Sir William Strode, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Francis Drake and Sir George Chudleigh, were summoned before the Council to answer for their opposition. Sir Edward Giles<sup>1</sup> was an old man, too weak to travel, so he was excused; but the remaining four appeared on March 1, 1635, and were simply reprimanded. They must have esteemed themselves extremely fortunate to escape so lightly, for it can have been no secret to them that others, for far less, had been heavily fined in the Star Chamber; yet, in this case, it was held that it was ‘punishment enough to have travelled four hundred miles to so small a purpose.’

Such, at least, was the explanation of their uncommon leniency put forward by the Council, but the true motive may have been kept in the background, although more or less clearly understood.

<sup>1</sup> Prince says of Sir Edward Giles, that ‘he lived in great reputation at his seat at Bowden. In his youth being of active and vigorous spirit, he trayled a pike in her Majesty’s service for several years in the Low Countries. Near upon, or soon after her decease, he returned into England, and he, being ambitious, tho’ then but young, and his father still living, had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by King James I at the time of his coronation. Soon after, Sir Edward Giles returned into his own County, when his father, more jocularly than seriously, received him with very great ceremony, saluted him with the title of Sir Edward at every word, and would by all means place him above him as one dignified with the more honourable Degree, until at length enquiring of him, “Sir Edward, pray tell me,” said he, “who must discharge the Fees and Charges of your Knighthood and honour?” being answered that he hoped *he* would be pleased to do that; “Nay!” then says the old gentleman, “Come down, Sir Edward Giles, and sit beneath me again, if I am he that must pay for thy honour.”’



Of the nine members committed to the Tower in 1629, only Valentine and Strode still remained in prison, and their detention, in defiance of law and justice, was embarrassing and discreditable to the Government. Charles had probably never contemplated such a prolonged punishment, but, unfortunately, he had made it a point of honour with himself to obtain a formal submission from the prisoners, as the price of their liberty, and, therefore, if these two stubborn men could now be persuaded to give way, it would be a personal triumph for the King.

The Council possibly hoped to effect this through the influence of Sir William Strode, who had always been considered to be loyally inclined towards the Government, and they may have looked forward also to the affectionate advice of William Strode's brothers-in-law as likely to tend in the direction of a prudent compliance, and, for that reason, may have refrained from inflicting anything worse on the Devonshire Deputy-Lieutenants than a reprimand and a caution.

But if their Lordships had this in their minds, and it seems probable, they misunderstood the men they had to deal with, for although Sir William Strode's views on the subject of the independence of parliaments may have been less pronounced than those of his son, he was an honest and upright man, far more likely to encourage William in what he believed to be his duty than to urge him to abandon the cause for which he had suffered so long, and for which Sir John Eliot had endured imprisonment and death.

Sir Francis Drake and Sir George Chudleigh would scarcely have offered less steadfast counsel, for these men were politically of one mind, and as they saw the increasing difficulties into which King Charles's absolutism was plunging him, and noted the ever-growing dissatisfaction in town and country, they must have believed that a Parliament could

not be much longer delayed, and then William Strode's prison doors would open wide, triumphantly. Thus it may not have been altogether in a desponding spirit that father and son parted, for the last time, probably, at the Gate House. But hope does not rise very high in the heart of an old man, and when, eight months later, instead of calling a Parliament, the King simply issued a second writ for ship-money, with orders that this time every town in England was to contribute, Sir William must have begun sadly to doubt whether his son would be liberated whilst he lived. Neither was he, for in September of that year (1635) this much honoured and esteemed old knight was gathered to his fathers, and laid, as he desired, 'near his loving and religious wives' in the church of Plympton St. Mary.

Sir William bequeathed his Newnham estate to his eldest son, Richard, the High House at Meavy with lands adjoining to William, and a money legacy to John. He further desired that in remembrance of him each of his surviving daughters should have a ring set with five diamonds therein, and that William Strode should be his executor; but as the latter was in prison, though this is not mentioned, his father entreated that, in settling these affairs, he would accept the aid of his three brothers-in-law, Sir George Chudleigh, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Yonge.

The death of Sir William Strode must have much affected Sir Francis, for he and his father-in-law had constantly worked together, and Sir William's life had been a link with very different days, when England, ruled by Queen Elizabeth and Burleigh, had been prosperous and powerful; whilst now, under the irksome tyranny of King Charles and Laud, she was but of little account abroad, although so heavily taxed at home.

Amongst the various methods to which the Government resorted at this time, in order to replenish the Exchequer,

none gave more occasion for complaint, or were more vexatious to individuals, than the compositions for knighthood. It had been the custom from feudal times, on the accession of a new sovereign, to collect money towards the expenses of his coronation, by calling upon landowners having good estates to attend and be knighted. The fees required of a newly made knight amounted to rather more than forty pounds, but this did not represent the whole of the cost. In addition, there was the long and expensive journey to London and the loss of time in staying there whilst the claim was being investigated; for proofs of good birth were required, as well as evidence of the possession of sufficient means for the maintenance of a knight. Thus it came about that a great many persons preferred to pay the fine and be excused the dignity. The sum demanded was small, and no one had felt it to be a grievance.

But King Charles attempted to turn that which had been only an occasional windfall for the Crown into a regular source of revenue. Summonses to be knighted were sent not only to all freeholders having forty pounds a year, but also to copy and leaseholders, and even to merchants and innkeepers, 'scarce any man free from it,' not with the intention of knighting these people, but to get the fees for compounding. These were no longer moderate, but arbitrarily fixed at the pleasure of the Commissioners, and those persons who thought that it would be cheaper to go to town and receive the accolade, found 'processes of all sorts made out against them and no means to make answer but only by compounding.'

Over a hundred thousand pounds is said to have been netted in this way by the Government. The grievance fell most heavily on country people, for Londoners who could take things easily were not so much called upon to be knighted; but county gentlemen of position could hardly refuse, and,



indeed, when the King began to get into difficulties, it was deemed in Cavalier families to be a right and loyal thing for the father and as many of his sons as possible to offer themselves for knighthood.

We shall have occasion to refer to this matter again, but mention it here because, in the year 1629, we find Sir George Chudleigh styled 'Knight and Baronet,' and a little later Sir Francis Drake is similarly described. There is no record that these gentlemen were knighted on any notable occasion, and, therefore, it is to be concluded that, although they were already baronets, they accepted the lesser dignity out of loyalty or else because they could not very well avoid it. Both parties had ample means, yet neither could have had money to fling away on perfectly needless accessories, for each had a large family to educate, and some of the young people were growing up and requiring to be portioned.

Sir George and Lady Chudleigh had in all twenty-five children—a more numerous progeny than was usual, even in those prolific days; some, however, died in infancy.

Sir Francis and Lady Drake had four daughters and five sons; Joseph, their youngest boy, was born in 1630.

In 1636, Mary, the eldest daughter of Sir Francis Drake, married Mr. Elizeus Crymes of Crapstone, grandson of the Mr. William Crymes who, in 1602, with dagger and gribble staff withstood Thomas Drake on the banks of the leat. Mary's fortune was, we suppose, £1,500, for such was the sum bestowed on her younger sisters, and it is not likely that she would have had less than they. She was always most tenderly attached to her brother Francis, and he, as far as we can judge, was no less so to her. They could be companions, their ages being only one year apart.

Francis must have received his education under private tutors, as no record is to be found of his having graduated at Oxford or Cambridge. Nor, perhaps, should we have

expected to find his name on the books of either University, for in the seventeenth century a college education was regarded as unsuitable for eldest sons of men of wealth and position.

But Thomas Drake, / Sir Francis's second boy, was not required to be so expensively brought up. On November 20, 1635, when he was little more than fifteen years of age, he matriculated at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. The amount paid for him whilst at the University probably did not exceed £60 a year, as Sir Symons d'Ewes tells us that £40, which was what his father allowed him annually, was really insufficient, but that £60 would have been ample.

It is rather interesting to find that Thomas Drake was admitted a member of the Inner Temple the day before his matriculation, for although it was quite possible for a diligent, studious youth to keep his terms concurrently at the University and at the Inns of Court, by fitting in residence at the one with the vacation at the other—Sir James Whitlocke did it—such assiduity was rare, and we may naturally infer from it, in this case, that young Thomas intended to work hard and make his way at the Bar.

The marriage of Mary Drake is the last family event we have to record as taking place in the lifetime of her father. We know nothing of the doings of his last year ; and whether he died at Buckland or in London, suddenly or after a long illness, we have no information ; yet, as he made no will, and as some family documents show that he intended to make one, we are inclined to think that his death was unexpected. It occurred on March 11, 1636-7.

**PART IV**

**SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, 2ND BARONET**

**1637-1662**





## PART IV

### CHAPTER I

‘ALL things,’ says the Preacher, ‘have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven. A time to be born and a time to die. . . . A time to get and a time to lose. A time to keep and a time to cast away. . . . A time of love and a time of hatred. . . . A time of war and a time of peace.’

These inexorable verities must, in the later years of the widowed Dame Joan Drake, have commanded her complete and sorrowful acquiescence; but if she pondered upon them in the freshness of her grief, surely it was with a doubting heart, asking herself, ‘Was this a time for her husband to die?’ He was only forty-nine years old, and another decade of usefulness might have been granted to him. His heir, too, was not yet of full age, which was almost a disaster in those days. Of his four daughters, only one was married; and the youngest of his five sons was quite a little fellow, not much more than six years old.

Was it likely that she could set forward all these children in life as well as their father might have done? And to whom should she turn for counsel in those very difficult and perplexing times, when the best men in England were divided in their ideas of duty? Her father—whose opinion would have had the greatest weight with her—was dead; her eldest brother, Sir Richard Strode,<sup>1</sup> was a busy man with

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Strode was Recorder of Plympton; he was also involved in a prolonged lawsuit, which he followed sometimes in the Chancery Court, sometimes in the Star Chamber.

a family of his own to look after ; and her best-loved brother, William, was in prison. Thus Joan Drake, no doubt, had to rely chiefly upon herself, and she proved to be by no means a helpless widow, but a very able person, with well-defined views as to her interest and competent to drive a close, not to say a sharp, bargain in defence thereof.

As yet we have seen her dimly only, in the background, as it were, of the family group we have tried to depict, but at this point she comes before us more distinctly, as the central figure in whom for a short time the interest of our story is concentrated.

We find her, as a first step, applying for letters of administration to the effects of her late husband. These letters were granted to her on April 13, 1637, when she immediately took possession of all Sir Francis's personalty. Of this, two-thirds were legally hers ; the remaining third she held as guardian to her children, who, with the exception of Mary Crymes, were all under age.

A month later, the Inquisition required by law was held at Okehampton, and a return was made to the Court of Wards and Liveries, of the number, extent and value of Sir Francis Drake's houses and estates. The original record of this Inquisition is at the Rolls Office, and the finding of the jury is quoted in the application made by Dame Joan Drake to have the wardship of her sons granted, or, we should more correctly say, sold to her. Francis, the eldest, his father's heir and successor, was a little over nineteen years of age. The amount returned by the jury as due to the Crown every year during his minority was £61 16s. Besides this, the Court of Wards and Liveries exacted a fine of £666 13s. 4d., as the condition of permitting Lady Drake to have the ' wardship and marriage ' of her son. At the current value of money this was a very large sum, and, accordingly, payment was spread over a period of eighteen months, with the further concession that Lady Drake was to have an allowance from





JOAN, LADY DRAKE  
(daughter of Sir William Strode)  
WIFE OF FIRST BARONET



the Court of £10 annually for the maintenance of the ward, to enable her to bring him up 'in good education and decent qualities.' Inadequate as this amount was for such a purpose, it evidently represented many times more than £10 does now, for what Court would deem £70, or even £80, a year to be sufficient for the maintenance and education of a youth of nineteen, who had inherited a substantial estate? Whatever was done, however, we know by the sequel that the young Sir Francis was well taught, but we hear nothing definite about him for more than a year and a half after his father's death. Lady Drake, meanwhile, had the management of her son's property, and as most of it was already either settled upon herself or at lease upon lives, she derived no advantage by the purchase of the wardship for which she had paid so highly, other than the inestimable one of preventing her boy from falling into the hands of a merely mercenary guardian, who would have recouped himself by selling the heir's marriage.

Sir Francis, therefore, owed his mother a considerable debt of gratitude for the sacrifices she had made. To do Lady Drake justice, she seems, whilst she was a widow, to have been anxious to deal kindly with her son, to consult his inclinations, and to give him all the advantages his father might have desired for him. At the age of twenty his schooling was finished, and if he did not intend to study the law, there was nothing much to detain him in England. He had no house of his own, nor any establishment to keep up. Buckland Abbey was Lady Drake's for her life, and Werrington appears to have been let on lease to its former owner, Mr. Thomas Gewen. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Sir Francis resolved to leave home, at any rate for a while, and increase his knowledge of the world and men by taking service under one of the experienced military commanders of the day.



Previous to the Revolution, although there was always more or less of an army in Ireland, there was no standing one in England, nor any good school of instruction for young soldiers ; but on the Continent fighting was perennial. Some of the foreign regiments, especially those in the Netherlands, were largely recruited from Britain, and were commanded by English or Scotch gentlemen—younger sons of good families—such as Sir Horace Vere, Sir John Conyers, Sir Edward Morgan, and others. It was a very usual thing for parents to send their eldest sons to serve for a campaign with one of these regiments, in order that the youths might learn something of military discipline and tactics, which would put them in a better position afterwards, either for taking service in Ireland, or for commanding the trained bands in their own counties.

But to leave this country, whether on business or pleasure, was not so simple then as it is now. All travellers going abroad had to state the motive and probable duration of their journeys, in order to obtain a 'Licence to pass beyond the Seas'; and those persons who meant to serve in the foreign wars were required by statute to take the Oath of Allegiance to their own sovereign, before applying to one of the secretaries of State for permission to embark.

Accordingly, we find that, on November 7, 1638, Matthew Francis, J.P. for Westminster, certified to the Council 'that Sir Francis Drake, with John Trelawney and William Morgan his attendants, had that day taken the Oath of Allegiance.' Very soon after this, they, no doubt, obtained their passports and set out from Dover for the Continent.

Lady Drake, as we have already pointed out, was not an ill-dowered widow. By a post-nuptial settlement, the Buckland Abbey estate had been secured to her for life, and as the fishery of the Tavy was then a source of revenue, we may calculate that the income she received from her

jointure was equal to between £700 and £800 of our money. This does not sound much, but it was probably the least part of her inheritance, for we must remember that, as the law then stood, she was entitled, as widow, to a third of her husband's personalty; as his administratrix, to another third; and as guardian of her children, the remaining third was in her hands for a good many years. We have no precise record of the value of Sir Francis's personalty, but there are indications (it would be tedious and confusing here to give the reasons for our belief) that the share of each child was £500. If this was so, Lady Drake's own portion was £8,000, by no means a contemptible amount in days when the legal rate of interest was fixed at eight per cent.

She certainly had ample means to pay the fine for the wardship of her eldest son, and, although undoubtedly it was largely over-assessed—as was too common in the reign of Charles I—she seems, as the calls were made, to have met them with regularity, conscious, perhaps, that in this matter no redress was to be looked for.

The most law-abiding and docile, however, have a limit beyond which it is useless to press them. With Lady Drake this point was reached when the third levy of ship-money began to be enforced. Her late husband, like most of the gentlemen of Devon, had loyally, though reluctantly, contributed; but now, being independent, Lady Joan took a line of her own and utterly refused to pay. So also did Sir Richard Strode. It is not surprising that they should have felt a peculiar dislike to ship-money, seeing that to them it was the embodiment of a very personal question involving the liberty of their brother; for if the King could obtain the revenues he wanted by his own prerogative, without the consent of the Commons, years might elapse before another Parliament was called, and till then William Strode would linger in prison.

For a long while the odious tax was more patiently borne in Devonshire than in other counties. In 1637, although Mr. Dennis Rolle, the High Sheriff, complained bitterly of opposition, and that 'many suffered distress to be taken of their goods whilst base people spattered his officers with scandalous language,' he was able, notwithstanding, to deliver to the Treasury nearly all the sum at which the county had been assessed. Sir Thomas Wise, the next Sheriff, was less happy, for, at the conclusion of his year of office, the ship-money he had collected was £1,200 short of the expected amount. He was called upon to make the sum good, and, in despair, acquainted the Council with the names of those persons who obstinately refused to pay. Amongst these we find 'Domina Johanna Drake de Buckland Monachorum £4.' At the end of another twelvemonth her arrears had grown to £6 2s., and an attachment was decreed against her, with what result is not recorded. Possibly, as in the previous year in the case of her brother at Newnham, the Sheriff's officers may have taken away farm stock to satisfy the debt; but it is quite as likely that nothing was done, for by this time (December 1639) everyone was familiar with the judgment in Hampden's case, and in Devon the head and petty constables refused to execute warrants for ship-money, lest they should render themselves liable to actions for illegal distress.

That such an action would have been taken by Lady Drake is more than probable, for she was not of a yielding nature, and now she could venture to be combative, seeing that even in theory she was no longer a defenceless widow.

In order to explain her position and that of the family generally, we must go back for a moment to the winter of 1638-9, when, about the time of Sir Francis's departure for the Continent, his second sister, Elizabeth, found a suitor



in the person of John Trefusis of St. Mabe, eldest son of John Trefusis of Trefusis, in Cornwall. A marriage was arranged between them, and it took place at Beerferrers on February 13, 1639. At that time the Drakes possessed no land in this parish, and it is not obvious why the wedding should have been here rather than at Buckland. If for any temporary reason the latter church was unsuitable, there were others within a moderate drive,—at Meavy, for instance, near to which her uncle William had a house, or at Samford Spiney or Walkhampton. Beerferrers, on the contrary, is far off, excepting by water at high tide, when with a fair wind the distance from the Abbey is quickly traversed. But in the month of February such a mode of locomotion was not in the least likely to have been adopted by a bride; therefore, there can be no doubt that Elizabeth and her mother were staying at Beerferrers—perhaps in the old mansion at Ley, to which a chapel was attached, named Our Lady of Basselake; but more probably close to the church, at Bere Barton, which then belonged to Mountjoy, Earl of Newport. His father and uncle, as well as his half-brother, Lord Warwick, were old friends of the Drakes, and he may have either lent or leased the house to Lady Drake, if she wished for a short time to be away from the Abbey, in order to avoid entertaining for wedding festivities during her mourning.

Elizabeth's marriage seems to have been a very happy and suitable one: Mr. John Trefusis was twenty-seven years of age and she was seventeen. The amount of her fortune is not named, but the sum must have been the same as that given later to her sisters, £1,500. The young people settled down at St. Mabe, about three miles from Penryn; probably at some small place belonging to the Trefusis family, whose lands lay chiefly in the adjacent parishes of Constantine and of Mylor, where Trefusis House, the residence of Elizabeth's

father-in-law, was situated. Trefusis Point, a lofty, wind-swept promontory at the entrance of Falmouth harbour, is crowned by a knoll of trees. Behind the shelter of these, on slightly lower ground, stood the ancient family mansion, which thus occupied a very fine site and yet had no view, or next to none, of the beautiful harbour below.

The house was of grey stone, large, long and low, with granite mullioned windows. Even a century ago it was in ruins, and now the only portions remaining—incorporated into a new building—are a massive stone doorway and the great granite fireplace which was formerly in the old hall. It is handsomely carved, and the shape is peculiar, somewhat resembling a very wide capital letter M.

In 1639, the owner of this comfortable, but perhaps rather gloomy abode, was a widower with five sons and three daughters, some of whom were young. Such a home wanted a mistress, and, whilst arranging the marriage of his heir with Elizabeth Drake, it seems to have occurred to Mr. Trefusis that her mother might be a desirable wife for himself. He was fifty years of age, Vice-warden of the Stannaries for Cornwall, and wealthy. Lady Drake was about forty-five, good-looking, we hope, lively and energetic certainly. She had a fair jointure and ready money besides at her own disposal: thus the alliance suited both parties and was very soon agreed upon.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot be wrong in believing that Sir Francis was somewhat dismayed at the news of his mother's engagement, for it left him without a home. Lady Drake had taken

<sup>1</sup> Lady Joan had leanings towards Puritanism, so also had Mr. Trefusis, to judge from the title of a tract published at Rotterdam in 1631. 'Digitus Dei, or Good News from Holland, sent to the Worthie John Trefry and John Trefusis Esquires, as also to all that have shot arrows against Babel's Brats and wish well to Zion whercsoever.' It is signed, 'Your loving kinsman, H.P.' Hugh Peters was afterwards well known as the favourite Army Chaplain of Cromwell and Fairfax. He was related to the Peterses of Bowhay near Exeter.

complete possession of everything, his father's plate, furniture, and even the valued family heirlooms ; these things on her remarriage would all pass away absolutely into the ownership of Mr. Trefusis.

As to the estate, Sir Francis may at first have comforted himself with the reflexion that, since widows and widowers did almost invariably remarry, it was fortunate that his mother had exercised sound judgment in selecting as her second husband one who had a fine place of his own. This circumstance he may naturally have supposed would incline her to give up her claim to Buckland Abbey, but he was soon undeceived, for Lady Drake thought of nothing less. She meant to gain in every way, without sacrificing an iota of the rights she had acquired by either of her nuptials. These rights were not inappreciable.

It is not always remembered that the law of England was then much more favourable to women and younger children than it afterwards became. It gave, it is true, all a wife's possessions to her husband, so absolutely that she could not make a will without his consent ; but, on the other hand, it did not permit him by testament to rob her of everything. Until the law was altered by a statute passed in the reign of James II, a married man had not the power to bequeath all his personalty exactly as he pleased. One-third passed compulsorily to his widow, and another third to his children ; these thirds were called ' their reasonable parts,' of which he could not deprive them ; the remainder was ' the dead man's share,' and he might do as he chose with it. If sons or daughters had been provided for in their father's lifetime, the amount so laid out might be deducted from their share of the third, but a widow's part could not be diminished ; when there were no children it was increased to one-half of her husband's personalty. Only one thing barred her right altogether, and that was a settlement signed before marriage.



Consequently, pre-nuptial settlements were very rare things ; many women, indeed, had none at all, trusting to their legal rights and their husbands' generosity ; but when a lady brought money, and her friends exacted an equivalent settlement, it was usual not to sign the document until after the wedding, sometimes the next day, sometimes not for a long while, but always ' in consideration of a marriage already had and solemnised.' In this way, a wife could have a house and lands secured to her without forfeiting her ' reasonable part.'

Such being the law, Sir Francis must have known at once that, as his mother was a most practical lady and Mr. Trefusis a rich man, there was but little prospect that she would agree to have a marriage settlement merely in order to secure the return of her first husband's money to his children ; that might be counted as certainly lost to the family ; but with regard to the heirlooms, it is pretty evident that some respectful remonstrances were addressed to Lady Drake, not by Sir Francis, for he was far away, but by her late husband's half-brothers, Walter and William Elford, instigated thereto, probably, by her son Thomas, and her daughter, Mary Crymes. Accordingly, on August 15, about a week before Lady Drake's second marriage, an agreement was arrived at respecting these precious articles, and a document was drawn up reciting the terms of the bargain. It bore very hardly on Sir Francis, but he was evidently at too great a distance to be consulted, and, as the wedding was imminent, his uncles did the best they could for him in the limited time at their command. When he returned to England he might be able to make better terms for himself, or he might choose to ratify what they had done : meanwhile, the heirlooms were not to be disposed of to anyone else. Favourable as the agreement was to Lady Drake, every clause in the deed seems to bear witness to the unwillingness with which it was

wrung from her ; yet, excepting the Drake jewel, she really gave up nothing that she could enjoy, whilst she freed herself very comfortably from the burden of maintaining her younger daughters if they did not marry, or from having to portion them if they did. We must remember this, or we might be deceived by the altruistic air with which the document commences.

ALL MEN SHALL KNOWE by these presents that I Dame Johane Drake of Buckland Monachorum in the county of Devon Widdowe, the Relict and Administratrix of Sir Francis Drake Baronett deceased, for and in consideration of the full and entire sum of three thousand pounds of lawful English money to be paid unto Sarah Drake and Johane Drake my daughters, . . . as also for divers other good and valuable causes me hereunto moving, HAVE GIVEN, granted, bargained and sold . . . all that my plate, household stuffe, goods and implements of Sir Francis Drake deceased, as also a great tablett or jewell with Queen Elizabeth's picture in it which was lately belonging to Sir Francis Drake knight, deceased, and also all the household goods, lynnings, and implements in Werrington, excepting and always reserving out of the present grant the particular pieces and parcels of plate comprised in a schedule hereunto annexed, and also excepting and reserving all jewells, chains of gold, borders, gold rings and other ornaments fit and peculiar for the person and use of me the said Dame Johane Drake, other than the aforesaid great jewell TO HAVE AND TO HOLD unto the aforesaid Sir Francis Drake his administrators executors and assigns. Provided always that it shall be lawful for me the said Johane Drake and my assigns to have the use of all the household stuffes, goods, lynnings and implements whatever in Buckland House aforesaid for and during the term of my natural life without any interruption or disturbance of the said Sir Francis Drake.

PROVIDED ALWAYS and upon this condition, that if the said Sir Francis Drake shall not within one year next ensuing the date thereof, sign seal and deliver as his act and deed unto John Pyne of Beer-Ferrers, clerk, and William Elford of Bickleigh in the County of Devon, gent, one good

and sufficient bond in the sum of three thousand pounds, with the condition hereunto annexed, the payment of £1,500 to each of his sisters Sarah and Johane Drake, at the days of their marriage or of twenty-one years, whichever should first happen, then this present grant, bargain, sale and guifte shall cease and be void, frustrate and of none effect, &c., &c., &c.

We spare the reader a recital of the whole document ; it goes on to say that in case Sir Francis declines these conditions, Lady Drake agrees for the sum of five shillings, then received, to sell all the above-mentioned property, including the great jewel, to John Pyne and William Elford (her half-brother-in-law) upon trust that they shall dispose of the same with all convenient speed, and apply the profits towards raising portions for her daughters, Sarah and Joan. In the next clause, however, she changes her mind about the speed, and explains as before that she would first enjoy the use of all these things for the term of her natural life. Finally, she reserves to herself a right to revoke the whole agreement at any time, until the money shall actually have been raised and paid.

The inventory of the jewels which Lady Drake withheld permanently out of the bargain has unfortunately been lost, but there is indirect evidence that it included a good many emeralds ; ‘ the plate heretofore at Werrington ’ which she also retained was not much, ‘ two silver-headed bowles, two silver maudlyn mugs, four silver dishes, two dozen of silver spoons, two pairs of silver salts and two silver basons.’

No allusion at all is made to the implements of husbandry, the farm stock, the deer in the park, and so forth. Such things were not irreplaceable, and William Elford may have deemed it wiser not to press his sister-in-law further just then, lest the negotiation as to the heirlooms should fall through altogether.



The document which embodies this stiffly debated agreement was signed by Lady Drake in the presence of John Trefusis, her son-in-law, Edmund Fowell<sup>1</sup> of Fowelscombe, who was connected with her through her sister, Lady Somaster, and two other witnesses. Nine days later, on August 21, 1639, her second marriage took place (very quietly, let us hope) in the church at Buckland Monachorum.

One wonders rather what was the fate of the children. The four eldest Drakes, and even John, who was fifteen when his mother remarried, may be considered to have been off her hands; but there still remained William, aged twelve, Sarah, ten, Joseph, nine, and Joan, eight. Were they taken to Cornwall, or were the young Trefusises brought to Buckland? Probably, sometimes one arrangement, sometimes the other, prevailed; we have no means of knowing. But that Lady Joan and Mr. Trefusis resided occasionally at the Abbey in the first year of their marriage is indicated by the fact that they kept the barton of Buckland in hand. This being so, Sir Francis, who had attained his majority in September 1639, was naturally more inclined to prolong than to curtail his travels.

Whether during his absence the arts of war or of peace most engaged his attention, we know not. In either case, he could on the Continent obtain far better instruction than was to be had in England, and he certainly acquired a fair knowledge of foreign languages, for amongst his possessions which have come down to this generation are numerous Italian books, histories, poems and novelli, together with a large French folio Bible, purchased abroad, in which he has inscribed his name and the date, June 1639. Bound in with

<sup>1</sup> 'The grand old mansion of the Fowells, which passed to the Savery family, is in Chancery, deserted save by a caretaker, falling to ruins.'—Baring-Gould's *Country Life*.

this, in the same language, is the long, tedious catechism of Geneva, bought, perhaps, at his mother's request, in order to imbue his mind with the driest, sternest Protestantism, as a safeguard against the seductive influences of Rome.

By the end of 1639 Sir Francis had probably seen as much of warfare as he desired, and when the short days came and active campaigning was set aside for the winter, he employed his leisure in visiting Italy. Genoa was the usual landing-place for tourists, and there, perhaps at that very time, Vandyke was painting the magnificent pictures of the Balbi family which still delight our eyes. After visiting Pisa, the next town for a stay of any length was Florence, where also nearly all that we see now Sir Francis saw then. Ferdinand de Medici was reigning, and although the full tide and glory of the Renaissance was past, the fine arts were not neglected. The Pitti Palace was being enlarged, and the Court was surrounded by much pomp and splendour.

Sir Francis may, finally, have pushed on to Naples—most young men making the grand tour did so—but of this we have no record. Fortunately, his little guide-book, '*Roma Moderna, Distinta in sei Giornate*,' affords us amusing evidence of his stay in the Eternal City. He has written his name, '*Francisco Drake*,' on the first page, and again on the last, as though to intimate triumphantly that he had gone through the complete round of the sights described.

This curious, and perhaps unique, little work is full of woodcuts and etchings of the principal places a stranger ought to see. Some are much as they are at present; some, especially the gardens of the villas, are a good deal altered, and others, such as the Trinita del Monte, are so changed as to be barely recognisable. Not the least quaint details

of the pictures are the little figures of tourists inspecting the monuments, and the great, lumbering, narrow-wheeled carriages in the streets. Strange to say, no female figures are represented ; there are priests, soldiers, countrymen, monks and gentlemen in abundance, but not one lady ; from which we should, perhaps, infer that it was incorrect for them to be seen on foot in Rome.

To a young man such as Sir Francis, of cultivated taste—to judge from the books he bought—the interest and delight of a tour in Italy can hardly be overrated. Engrossed, perhaps, in all he saw and learned there, he may for the moment have been able to thrust aside the importunate remembrance of the vexations and disputes awaiting him at home. There would be time enough to think of these things by and by. For the present his immediate return was not called for, and he could give himself up happily to the unreserved enjoyment of the one great holiday of his life. He was still too young to be profitably employed in public affairs, even if these had been in their normal peaceful condition, and, as we know, it was far otherwise in England then.

In 1639, the attempt of Charles and Laud to force Episcopacy upon Scotland had driven the people, first, into the formation of the Solemn League and Covenant, and then into active rebellion.

In the beginning it does not seem to have occurred to the King that he would have much difficulty in subduing the Scotch. His army, commanded by himself in person, was hastily collected by calling upon all the Peers to fulfil the conditions of military service upon which they held their lands. Such a force, inadequate and ill-disciplined, was not capable of giving battle to the well-ordered troops of the Covenanters. Negotiations were therefore set on foot which resulted in the pacification of Berwick.



Had the treaty then made been interpreted as the Scotch hoped, it would have secured to them all they wanted, which was simply to be governed in their own country by their own laws. But Charles foresaw that if he gave way to the demands of his northern subjects, it would inevitably involve the abandonment of government by prerogative in England, and for that he was unprepared. He could not say so openly, nor, without money, could he keep an army in the field. It was necessary to gain time. Holes were picked in the treaty, and whilst messages and proposals, destined only to be fruitless, were being sent backwards and forwards all the autumn, Charles was endeavouring to obtain a loan in the City, and to borrow men and money from the Kings of France and Spain. But foreign princes were not ill pleased to see him in difficulties, and the Mayor of London would not lend.

In this predicament, Charles was driven to take Wentworth's advice; and, early in December, it was resolved that Parliament should be summoned to meet on April 13, 1640.

Inconsistent as Charles was, he could hardly venture to meet the Commons with a request for money whilst Strode and Valentine, 'the two confessors of the Parliamentary faith,' were still in prison. After a captivity of nearly eleven years, they were set at liberty by a royal warrant, which also necessarily discharged their fees and Mr. Valentine's fine.<sup>1</sup>

Clarendon says of William Strode that he was 'one of the fiercest of the Parliamentary party, and of the party only for his fierceness,' but he must have had more valuable qualities, because, by merely producing securities for good behaviour, he could have obtained his freedom

<sup>1</sup> *Rossingham's News Letter*, Add. MSS. 11645, fol. 87.

any day he chose. Yet, solely as a matter of principle, he did not.

If William Strode was hot-tempered, he was also warm-hearted, and much beloved by his family. We can well imagine the immense satisfaction with which Lady Drake must have written to tell her son of his uncle's release, and of his joyful reception at Newnham and in his own house at Meavy.

The announcement of a Parliament was received at first with incredulity, so many years had elapsed since the representatives of the nation had met at Westminster, and during all this time the unredressed grievances of which they had formally complained had been growing more and more intolerable. The people were quickly decided, therefore, to return members who would uphold their rights. Those who had suffered in the cause of liberty were assured of seats; Hampden, Pym, Strode, Hollis, and other such men, were enthusiastically elected.

Hampden, the patriot, the cousin of Oliver Cromwell, the dearest friend of Sir John Eliot, need only be mentioned here to remind the reader that he was also the intimate, beloved companion of John Pym. From this time, during the few years which remained to each, they toiled side by side, devoting their whole hearts to the salvation of the liberties of England. Pym, the elder of the two, was fifty-five years of age when, in the first winter months of 1640, he rode with his friend through many of the English counties whilst the elections were pending, stirring up the people to sign petitions complaining of their grievances, and urging them to present the petitions to Parliament through their members, directly the Houses met.

Few, if any, British statesmen have achieved greatness more deservedly lasting than that of John Pym; yet of his private life not much is known. He came of an ancient,

well-to-do Somersetshire family, which had been seated at Brymore in the reign of Edward I, and had possessed the manor of Sidford, in Devon, for at least seven generations before Alexander, the father of John, sold it to Chief Justice Perriam.



THE PORCH AT BRYMORE

Alexander Pym died in January 1585, when his heir was little more than seven months old. A year later, his widow Phillippa, purchased the guardianship of her son from the Court of Wards and Liveries,<sup>1</sup> and not long afterwards she became the second wife of Sir Anthony Rouse of Halton, the trustee and close friend of the first Sir Francis Drake.

<sup>1</sup> *Inq. Post Mort.* 27th Elizabeth.



Lady Rouse was, we are told, 'a comfortable helper to her loving husband and no small support of so great a house for more than thirty years continuance, an especial ornament of hospitality, the long continued praise of that house.'<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis must often have stayed there, and his hostess's little boy could scarcely have been unknown to him.

Pym's childhood was, we presume, spent at Halton in company with the young Rouses, and like them he was educated at Broadgates Hall.<sup>2</sup> He matriculated as a gentleman commoner at the age of fifteen, and in 1602 he was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, where Francis Rouse put down his name as surety for him. John Pym studied the law, as most country gentlemen did in those days, but he did not make it his profession. For some years he held an appointment in the Exchequer, and in 1614—through the influence of the Earl of Bedford—obtained his first seat in Parliament. In May 1604, when he was only twenty-one years old, he married Anna, daughter of John Hook of Bramshot, Esq.<sup>3</sup> She was a woman of rare accomplishments and learning, 'a most loving, holy, helpful wife.' By her he had three sons, John, Alexander, and Charles, and two daughters, Phillippa and Dorothea.

Mrs. Pym died in 1620; her husband mourned her sincerely and did not follow the custom of the age by quickly marrying again, but thenceforth devoted himself to working assiduously for the public good. This, for the remainder of his life, was his constant occupation, 'his exercise, his recreation, his pleasure, his ambition.'

We have already glanced at the part Pym took in the Parliament of 1621, his imprisonment at its dissolution, his

<sup>1</sup> Funeral sermon on the death of Lady Rouse, by the Rev. Charles Fitzgeoffrey.

<sup>2</sup> Now Pembroke College.

<sup>3</sup> The Hook family owned the manor and advowson of Bramshot in Hants until the end of the seventeenth century.

return for Calne in 1622, for Tavistock in 1625 and in 1626, and his further deprivation of liberty till the meeting of Charles's third Parliament in 1627.

When that Parliament was dismissed, the fate of Eliot, Coryton, Strode, Valentine and others would have been Pym's also, but for the accident of his absence from the House during the tumultuous scene which led to their arrest.

For the next eleven years, whilst government by prerogative prevailed, whilst Wentworth rose from honour to honour through his conversion to despotic principles, Pym watched and waited, neither missing any opportunity of working for the advancement of the popular cause, nor ever abandoning his firm belief in the ultimate supremacy of law and justice.<sup>1</sup>

In April 1640, it seemed as if the moment had come when these expectations might be fulfilled, but the great hopes raised at the meeting of Parliament after so long an intermission were not destined to be realised, for nothing was accomplished. It was the old story again repeated. Charles was resolved that a grant of money should precede the consideration of grievances; but the Commons represented that nothing was so urgent as the remedy of these, 'for till the liberties of the House and Kingdom were cleared, they knew not whether they had anything to give or no.' They were, moreover, in no haste to grant the King a supply towards

<sup>1</sup> The curious anecdote related by Dr. Wellwood so forcibly illustrates Pym's extraordinary foresight and resolution that, although well known, we may be pardoned for quoting it. 'There had been a long and intimate friendship between Mr. Pym and Sir Thomas Wentworth and they had gone hand in hand in the House of Commons. But when Sir Thomas Wentworth was upon making his peace with the Court, he sent to Pym to meet him alone at Greenwich; where he began in a set speech to sound Mr. Pym about the dangers they were likely to run by the courses they were in, and what advantages they might have if they would but listen to the offers which would probably be made to them from the Court. Pym, understanding his drift, stopped him short with this expression: "You need not use all this art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us; but remember what I tell you, you are going to be undone. And remember also that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders!"'—*Memorials of English Affairs*, p. 46.

the subjugation of Scotland, for they detested Laud's ecclesiastical policy, and sympathised more with the Scots in their resistance to Episcopacy than they did with Charles, who had stirred up the quarrel so needlessly. It was resolved, therefore, upon Pym's suggestion, that the House should petition the King to come to terms with the Scots. Such advice was most unpalatable to Charles. To avoid receiving it he resorted to a dissolution, and on May 5, after a session of only three weeks, 'the Short Parliament' ceased to exist.

From this time the King's ever-increasing perplexities became more and more desperate. The army which had been raised in the previous year had not been disbanded; but there was no money to pay or clothe it, and none wherewith to increase it to a sufficient force to meet the threatening Scots. Parliament would not contribute; individuals would not give; neither would foreign princes lend.

In this dilemma, the law officers of the Crown suggested to the King that, as an invasion was threatened, he might raise an army by issuing Commissions of Array. All who held estates by knight's service would then be bound to follow their sovereign into the field, each landowner with a sufficient military equipment, according to the nature of his tenure. This proposition was submitted to the Council at midsummer, and on August 20 the commissions were issued. They caused much consternation in the counties, such a means of raising an army having long fallen into desuetude.

It is probable that Sir Francis Drake had come back to England before the end of May. If he had not, we may be sure that as soon as he received news of what was impending he made haste to return, that he might select his attendants and be in readiness to march with the King's army on the



appointed day.<sup>1</sup> But whether pressed for time or no, he certainly stayed in London on his way and found leisure to see the friends he most cared for. His uncle, William Strode, had probably returned to Devonshire on the breaking up of the Parliament, but the Pym's were in town at their house in Gray's Inn Lane, and near to them in the same street were the Hampdens, of whom they saw a good deal. Sir Francis was sure of a warm welcome at the Pym's; they were not exactly related, but were very nearly connected; the young people must have known each other from childhood, for Sir Francis's cousin, Robert Rouse, had married Jane, sister of Mr. Pym of Brymore, and as the latter had been many years a widower, it is not unlikely that Mrs. Robert Rouse may have had to do with the bringing up of her nieces, Phillippa and Dorothea.

Alexander Pym was seven or eight years older than Sir Francis. In 1634 he was serving in the States army in the Netherlands, where he sowed some wild oats, but on promises of amendment, which he seems to have kept, he was forgiven by his father.<sup>2</sup> Charles Pym was a year or two Sir Francis's senior, but Dorothea must have been almost exactly his own age. Her elder sister, Phillippa, had married—apparently about three or four years previously—Mr. Thomas Symons of Whittlesford, in Cambridgeshire. Dorothea often visited them, and from there wrote delightful letters to her brother Charles. By these we get to know the fascinating lady and to like her; to understand, moreover, how it came to pass that if Sir Francis visited Devonshire at all at this period, his stay was of the briefest.

He took no steps then to conclude the agreement that his uncle had made for him with respect to the family heirlooms,

<sup>1</sup> The Lord-Lieutenants of counties, who had to enforce the Commissions of Array, were directed to accept money payments instead of personal service from landowners who preferred to stay at home. Some indirect evidence points to the conclusion that Sir Francis was not one of these.

<sup>2</sup> See John Pym's letter to his son from a MS. in the British Museum, Appendix.

although it was most important that he should have done so before the month of August expired, when, through this default, the articles in question all fell legally into the possession of Mr. Trefusis.

At a moment of so much public excitement, questions of this nature dropped into the background. Mr. Trefusis had his hands sufficiently full already, having not merely to provide for his own military service, which was most likely undertaken for him by his eldest son, but having likewise, as a Deputy-Lieutenant, to attend to the pressing, drilling, and equipment of the men who were taken from the county trained bands for service with the army in the north. All these soldiers had to be clothed, armed, and paid at the expense of their own counties, until they joined the Royal Standard.<sup>1</sup>

On August 20 the King left London at the head of an army, which one who was with it describes as 'the gallantest that ever was, the flower of the gentry and nobility.' The Scots had raised troops also, and much more wisely, for the greater part of their regiments were composed of tried soldiers who had served in the Continental wars. We need not recapitulate the story of this unhappy campaign, it is so thoroughly and universally known.

After the battle of Newburn, the victorious Scots passed on to Newcastle, and the King was forced to listen to the advice of the Peers, in a petition which was drawn up by Pym and St. John, although constitutional usage did not permit any but Peers to sign it. Charles was reminded of the grievances of his people; he was entreated to summon a Parliament that could put an end to these miseries and to negotiate a peace with the Scots. As the latter were in

<sup>1</sup> Devonshire contributed 600 foot and 63 horse, who marched on July 11, 1640. It may interest the curious to know that the pay of each horseman was 2s. 6d. per diem. 'It was also resolved that 8d. per diem being the ancient English pay allowed to each foot soldier was a competent salary and so thought not fit to be altered.'—*Sta. Pa. Dom.*, Feb. 1639-40.

possession of his two northern provinces and threatening a still further advance, Charles had no choice but to comply. He signed the Treaty of Ripon on October 28 and summoned Parliament for November 3.

The noblemen and gentlemen whose presence with the army had been due to knight's service only, were now at liberty to return to their homes. Sir Francis seems to have hastened south to put his fate with Dorothea Pym to the test, when, being made happy in her answer, or at any rate not discouraged, he immediately took up the matter of the restoration of his family heirlooms. It is scarcely surprising to find that he was dissatisfied with the exorbitant terms demanded by his mother; but the time for the fulfilment of the agreement made between her and his uncle Elford having now expired, he was wholly in her hands, or rather in those of Mr. Trefusis. The latter, however, took no advantage; he seems, indeed, to have been more anxious to come to an amicable settlement than his wife was.

So keenly did Sir Francis feel the injustice of the demands put forward, that he appears to have declined to acknowledge his mother's title to some of the personalty she claimed, and, in consequence, to have withheld certain sums of money due to her. It is not unlikely that the furniture and effects at Werrington were the disputed possessions, and that the money withheld was what she considered to be her share of the rent paid by Mr. Gewen. The result was that Lady Drake commenced, or threatened to commence, legal proceedings against Sir Francis. The law, perhaps, was more in her favour than in his, or friends intervened to prevent a breach, for the suit was withdrawn, and at the end of November a compromise was arranged.

The three thousand pounds for the advancement of her young daughters was to be paid. Upon this article Lady Drake was inflexible, but, it being conceded, she was willing,



with Mr. Trefusis's consent, to make some further concessions to her son, and in addition to the furniture and effects at Werrington to surrender to him the contents of the mansion at Buckland, without reserving her own life interest therein, which she had previously insisted upon.

The documents embodying the final agreement are two-fold : the first, a 'Release' on the delivery of the bond for £3,000, is rather quaintly worded, and suggests that Mr. Trefusis was heartily tired of the quarrel. .

All men shall knowe that wee, John Trefusis of Trefusis in the County of Cornwall esquire and Dame Johane my wife, late wife and administratrix unto Sir Francis Drake deceased, have released and do for ever release and quittance unto Sir Francis Drake of Werrington in the County of Devon Baronet, all manner of personal actions, suits, quarrels, controversies, debates, debts, accounts, reckonings, and other demands whatever which wee, the said John Trefusis and Dame Johane, or either of us have heretofore had, or at any time hereafter can or may have, for any matter, cause or thing whatsoever *from the beginning of the world* unto the day of the date hereof.

The second indenture is a deed of bargain and sale in the usual form, transferring to Sir Francis

all the jewels, plate, books, guns, armour, pewter, brass pots, linnen, bedding, bedsteads, tableboards, chairs, wainscotts, sealings and all other goods and implements in the several houses of Buckland and Werrington. Also all the timber stuffe, plough stuffe, and timber at both places, saving only and reserving to Mr. Trefusis and Lady Joan Drake 'the reasonable use of all the plough stuffe at Buckland during her life, at his and her will and pleasure without lett, trouble and interruption from Sir Francis Drake, his agents or assigns.'

This last paragraph makes it quite clear that Lady Drake had no intention of relinquishing the barton of Buckland, nor, indeed, did she ever give up her right to the Abbey ; possibly she neither expected nor intended to reside there again, but

she reserved her power to do so in case a second widowhood should leave her without a suitable residence.

It is noticeable that in these deeds Sir Francis is not described as of Buckland Monachorum but as of Werrington, which leads us to conclude that whilst he was in Italy, despairing of getting the Abbey to live in, he had come to an arrangement with Mr. Gewen to surrender the lease of Werrington Park. The mansion there, of Tudor date, was comfortable but not very large; some of the old rooms still remain incorporated with more recent buildings. There is nothing remarkable about them; the most peculiar feature of the house must have been its proximity to the parish church, which, until its removal in 1743, was so close that to all appearance it might have been a private chapel. According to modern notions—by no means identical with those of our ancestors in the matter of building sites—the situation greatly excels that of Buckland. It stands on high ground, commands a splendid prospect, and is surrounded by a most beautiful wild park, where the roe deer trip about and pheasants and conies abound.

It was this home that young Sir Francis Drake was thinking of preparing for a very sweet and fascinating bride, when his mother's change of attitude put Buckland, which he always preferred, at his disposal. Her object, no doubt, in making it possible for him to go there, was to facilitate a marriage which must have been a most satisfactory one in her eyes.

Peace and amity being now re-established in the family, Sir Francis gladdened the heart of his sister Mary by paying a visit to Buckland; most probably with the intention of helping Charles Pym to secure his election for the borough of Beeralston, which place he represented in the Long Parliament in conjunction with William Strode. Mr. and Mrs. Crymes were then rebuilding Crapstone, and meanwhile resided about a couple of miles away in a small house which

they rented from the Vicar. On her brother's departure, Mary wrote him the following valedictory letter :

To the Right Worthy my worthy Brother  
Sir Francis Drake att London give these.

MOST LOVING AND DEAR BROTHER,

My true love attend you : Daily I pray for your happines : wishing all content in your voyage and safe Returne. I wish the time were come that we might enjoy your sweet company : I pray let it not be long : Without any complimente you have the heart of your

truly loving sister

MARY CRYMES.

From Lourcombe  
this Thursday  
1640.

Sweet Brother I shall intreat you to Bye me a fan and 6 thousand of Pinns.

The date is vague, but we are persuaded it refers to this summer, more especially as it is the only one of Mary's letters to Sir Francis that has been preserved. The comfort and content his sister wished were vouchsafed, for he won the heart of his fair lady and had the happiness of being welcomed into a most affectionate and united family.

Sir Francis's engagement to Dorothea occurred during the first weeks of the Long Parliament, when one might almost say that every debate led to the collapse of some part of the tyranny King Charles had built up. The first abuses to be swept away were the High Commission Court and the iniquitous Star Chamber, where men were tried without a jury, and sentenced to fines and mutilation. The Hampden judgment was reversed, and the levy of ship-money or any other tax without the consent of Parliament was declared illegal. A bill for triennial Parliaments was introduced, and the impeachment of Strafford commenced. Of these and many other measures Pym and Hampden were the chief movers and contrivers, but we have it on good authority



that, notwithstanding the ceaselessness of Pym's labours on public affairs, he was never distracted from bestowing the most loving care upon his children, and at this critical moment his daughter's interests were not neglected.

He gave her a fortune of £2,500, in consideration of which Sir Francis agreed to settle upon her as dower the barton, park and mills of Werrington, the Priory mills near Launceston, and certain meadows and woods, called the Castle woods. The marriage settlements were signed on January 15, 1641, the trustees being John Upton of Lupton, Sir John Bamfield, and William Strode. Three days later, on January 18, Sir Francis Drake and Dorothea Pym were married at St. Margaret's, Westminster. It was the parish church of the bride, Pym having removed his family, towards the end of 1640, to a house belonging to Sir Richard Manly situated in a small court behind Westminster Hall.

After the wedding, we lose sight of the young couple for several months; they probably visited the Symonses at Whittlesford, and, when the coldest days of winter were past, gradually made their way west to establish themselves at Buckland Abbey.

Dorothea kept up a frequent correspondence with her relations. Many of her letters to Charles Pym are preserved at Brymore; they are written in a small round hand, are very legible, and are perfectly spelt—merits not always to be found in the letters of ladies of the seventeenth century. The signature is unusually large, evidently a peculiar fancy of Dorothea's, for Sir Francis after his marriage adopted the same style, signing his name in much bolder characters than the rest of his writing.

Charles and Dorothea were warmly attached to each other. He was, indeed, a pattern for brothers, always willing to be helpful and to take any amount of trouble to please his sisters and brothers-in-law. Mr. Symons wishes for doeskin



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE  
SECOND BARONET





wherewith to line his hunting waistcoats—Charles must choose it. Phillippa and Dorothea lose their luggage on their way to Cambridgeshire—Charles is appealed to, to find out what has become of the boxes and send them on. Mr. Symons thinks of giving his wife and sister-in-law new gloves with gold or silver tops—Charles is to select them of the very best that may be had at reasonable prices. Phillippa and Dorothea set their hearts on the possession of a ‘pair of virginals’—Charles is to run about town to find a tradesman willing to take their lute in exchange for the new instrument.

Only a small part of their correspondence is extant, Charles’s share in it having disappeared. His letters to his sister after her marriage must have been deeply interesting, telling her of the tumults in London, of the trial of Strafford as it proceeded week by week, of his attainder and condemnation, of his noble letter to his miserable, unworthy master, and on May 12 of his brave death. From Charles, too, Dorothea and Sir Francis must have heard details of the Army Plot, in which their cousin, Captain James Chudleigh, was unfortunately mixed up, and he can hardly have failed to make some allusions to the formation of the ‘Root and Branch’ party, bent on the abolition of Episcopacy. Letters on all these matters *must* have been written, for it is inconceivable—steeped in politics as the whole Pym family were—that Sir Francis and Dorothea could have been satisfied to glean only a partial knowledge of what was going on from the ill-informed pages of a weekly public news-letter.

Distance from the scene of action, however, makes an enormous difference in the effect of news. Whilst excitement was often at fever-heat in London, the tranquillity of life in the West was disturbed only by religious bickerings, as to true doctrine, the righteousness of sports on Sunday, and, above all, as to the proper position of the altar in parish churches. Seeing that there was no such thing as religious

liberty, and that no one proposed there should be, the animosity aroused on these matters was intensely bitter ; but such a dislocation of society as is implied by civil war was certainly not expected at that time.

In the spring of 1641, Sir Francis was already experiencing the cares of the head of a family in a greater degree than he should have done. His brothers and younger sisters all looked to him to portion them, and he had not the ready money to do it as rapidly as they expected. He had recently provided for Elizabeth Trefusis, and given security for the fortunes of Sarah and Joan. Now Thomas, his next brother, was asking to be set up in life directly he came of age.

When last we took notice of Thomas, he was studying law at the Inner Temple, apparently with the intention of going to the Bar. Perhaps his talents were insufficient, perhaps he lacked steadiness of purpose ; however that may be, he had by this time come to the conclusion that a country life was pleasanter than office work in London. It is not unlikely that just then there was an opening for a young lawyer at Plymouth, and that Thomas hoped to earn a competence more quickly there than he could have done in London. His chief motive, no doubt, was love for the fair-haired Susan Crymes, whom he desired to marry immediately. Throughout his life, Thomas was apt to be carried away by his emotions, but in the choice of a wife he may have shown more prudence than he usually exhibited, for Mr. Elizeus Crymes gave his sister a marriage portion of £1,000. In consideration of this, Sir Francis settled a small estate and a house in Plymouth on his brother and sister-in-law during their respective lives. The barton of Brendon, in the parish of St. Mary Week, Cornwall, had two gardens, an orchard, and three hundred acres of land and 'bruderie' attached to it. Many years have elapsed since it was a gentleman's residence, but it still shows evidence of better days, in the

long drive up to the house, which leads one to expect to find something better than a farm at the end. The other domicile settled upon the pair was Pomeroyd's House in Batter Street, Plymouth, described as having a courtyard in front, and a garden, bounded by West Street, at the back.

This is now an ugly part of the town, crowded with mean buildings, but as Pomeroyd's House belonged to the first Sir Francis Drake, and as it remained in the family until after the Civil War, we are inclined to think that it was the Plymouth residence of the Hero when he took part in the memorable game of bowls. In 1641 the neighbourhood of Batter Street and West Street was already becoming more a business than a residential quarter, and doubtless it was for business of some kind that Thomas and Susan required the house. Their marriage settlements were dated on July 21, the trustees being Francis Glanville of Tavistock, William Fowell of Lydford Down, Nicholas Trefusis of Landrewe, and Oliver Sawle of Penrice; all more or less nearly connected with the bride.

On the following day, the wedding was celebrated at Buckland Church, from Crapstone, no doubt, as Mr. Crymes and Mary had finished rebuilding their house.

Towards the end of this summer, during the Parliamentary recess, although John Pym could migrate no farther than to the village of Chelsea, Charles was able to pay a visit to his sister and Sir Francis at the Abbey. The rest and refreshment must have been grateful to him, for as the days grew hot, the plague broke out, and an epidemic of small-pox raged in London and Westminster.<sup>1</sup>

It is unlikely that Pym ever saw Dorothea in her new home, but Charles could tell him how happy she was.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Petty says, 'A plague happeneth in London every twenty years or thereabout, and doth constantly kill one-fifth of the inhabitants.' The city of London at that time contained about 300,000 persons.



He could talk with his sister about many things that must have amused her—the slightest of society gossip, not worth writing about, yet could we hear it now, how deeply interested we should be! We can read in history of public calamities, of State trials and Parliamentary debates, but who can tell us all we should like to know of Lady Carlisle, and of the curious process by which her devotion to Strafford was transformed into a great friendship for Pym?<sup>1</sup>

Dorothea had lived much in London, and with political people; all the leaders of the Parliamentary party must have been her friends or acquaintances; and, as she listened to her brother's account of the exciting work of the session, she began to desire, and to make Sir Francis desire, to take part in that life which to an Englishman is truly the most interesting in the world. But for the moment there was no seat available.

Charles Pym saw a good deal of the Crymeses during his stay in Devonshire, and he must likewise have made himself very pleasant, for among the letters preserved at Brymore is one from Mary, dated October 22, 1641: she addresses him as her 'most dear brother,' on the French principle, '*les amis de nos amis sont nos amis*,' expresses much regret at his departure, and subscribes herself as his 'most

<sup>1</sup> Lucy, the widowed Countess of Carlisle, was about forty at this time. Sir Toby Matthews, a friendly admirer, describes her as clever, beautiful and ambitious, caring deeply for very few people, indifferent to most. 'She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature. They whom she is pleased to choose are such as are of the most eminent condition both for power and employments, not with any design towards her own particular, either of advantage or of curiosity, but her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous. . . . She will freely discourse of love and hear both the fancies and the powers of it, but if you will needs bring it within her knowledge, and boldly direct it to herself, she is likely to divert the discourse. . . . She hath too great a heart to have naturally any strong inclination to others . . . but yet she will observe them whose reputation gives value to their persons and condition, as if she would not be unwilling to find something of entertainment whereby to please herself or pass her time.'

affectionate sister.' Certainly Mary Crymes was either very gushing or extremely warm-hearted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We do Mary injustice, perhaps. Since the above was written it has been discovered that during Charles Pym's visit, two of her children died and were buried on the same day at Buckland. Charles, no doubt, had earned Mary's gratitude by kindness and sympathy with her in her trouble. His letters at this period are addressed to him, 'At the next house to the North Door of the Abbey Church, Westminster.' There is now no house near the North Door, but an old print at the British Museum shows that there *were* three, and Charles Pym's is quite clearly depicted. (Portfolio 14, No. 81.) He seems to have resided here for a good many years. The passage between the Abbey and St. Margaret's always existed. Several houses were built against the chancel of the latter. In one of these a lady resided, who asked permission to make a hole in the wall, that she might have the advantage of hearing the service without the trouble of going to church.

## CHAPTER II

DURING the summer of 1641 the aspect of public affairs had become gloomier day by day. When first the Parliament met it had been unanimous. In a blast of indignation it had swept away abuses, assassinated Strafford and stripped the King of the power he had so grievously misused. Charles, meanwhile, had been forced to look on helplessly whilst he was casting about for foreign and military support. Then had come the Army Plot, and in the fear of a hasty, violent dissolution of Parliament, the Commons had bound themselves together by a protestation, signed by every member of the House, vowing to maintain the Protestant religion, the power and privileges of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject, and to use all just and honourable measures to maintain the peace between Scotland, England, and Ireland. But here unanimity ended. Directly ecclesiastical matters were touched upon, irreconcilable differences began. It would have been enough for Pym and the majority of the country gentry, if the Bishops had been deprived of their seats in Parliament and of the power to introduce and tyrannically enforce the observance of ultra High Church practices. Such moderate reforms did not suit the 'Root and Branch' party; they would be satisfied with nothing less than the destruction of the Church of England, without knowing exactly what to set up in its place.



This was the situation of affairs when the King set out for Edinburgh, leaving both Houses in dread that he would return with an army at his back, undo the work of the past few months and punish the authors of it.

But we are not writing an historical sketch, and do not pretend to touch, however slightly, on events which have not a direct bearing upon the lives of those whose story we are trying to relate. Thus we pass over the terrible rebellion and massacre of Protestants in Ireland; the failure of the King's Scottish schemes; his return to England; the presentation of the Grand Remonstrance; the anarchy in religion; the perpetual tumults in London and Westminster, which led to the demands of both Houses for a guard; the attempt of the Commons to still further curtail the King's power, by proposing that he should no longer have the right to name his own officers; until at last we come to the fatal day when Charles committed the greatest and most irreparable of all the many blunders of his life.

We allude, of course, to the impeachment of the five members, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Strode, and Hazelrigg. The causes which led up to their impeachment are matters of history and need hardly be dwelt on here; we will simply recall a few leading facts.<sup>1</sup>

On January 1, 1642, the King sent for Pym, with the intention of offering him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but there is no certainty that the offer was really made. Upon that day, or the next, it came to the knowledge of Charles that a committee of the House of Commons intended to impeach the Queen, as having conspired against public liberties and held intelligence with the Irish rebels. Henrietta Maria well knew what a crushing case could be made out against her, and Charles as a counter-move—to save his wife—decided to impeach the five members most obnoxious

<sup>1</sup> These are condensed and quoted from Gardiner's *History*.

to her and himself. They were to be accused of having traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England, and of conspiring to deprive the King of his legal power; but the chief crime imputed to them was that they had invited and encouraged the Scots to invade the kingdom of England.

On January 3 the studies of Pym, Hampden, and Hollis were sealed up by the King's orders. The Commons, not knowing what to expect, sent a message to the City, begging that the trained bands might be made ready for their protection.

Before anything could be done, the Sergeant-at-Arms appeared with orders from Charles to arrest the five members. A committee was named to acquaint the King that the demand concerned their privileges, and that they would send a reply as soon as they had given it consideration. In the meantime, the gentlemen named would be ready to answer any legal accusation. That this might be made plain, the five members were ordered to appear in their places from day to day.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the King had been baffled. It was decided that evening, in conference with the Queen and Digby, that on the morrow Charles should go in person and secure the members, if necessary, in Parliament itself.

On the following morning the Queen unwisely entrusted to Lady Carlisle the secret of what was to be done, and Lady Carlisle at once conveyed the news to Essex. Whilst the members were at dinner, the five accused received a message from him advising them to make their escape, for the King was coming in person to seize them; but they could not yet believe that the project would be carried out. Although every preparation had been made, the King still hesitated; but at last, about three in the afternoon, stung by some sharp

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vol. x. p. 137.

words from Henrietta Maria, Charles wavered no longer. Flinging himself into a coach with the Elector Palatine at his side, he left Whitehall attended by three or four hundred soldiers. A Frenchman in the crowd saw what was happening; pushing through the troops, he ran swiftly and carried the news to the House of Commons.

The five were at once requested to withdraw. 'To which command of the House four of the said members yielded ready obedience; but Mr. Strode was obstinate, till Sir Walter Earle (his antient acquaintance) pulled him out by force.'<sup>1</sup> Taking a boat at the river-side, the five members were conveyed safely into the City.

As they were leaving the House, the King was entering the New Palace Yard in Westminster.

And as his Majesty came through Westminster Hall, the commanders, reformadoes, &c., that attended him, made a line on both sides of the Hall through which his Majesty passed, and came up to the stairs of the House of Commons and stood before the guard of pensioners and halberdiers, who also attended the King's person; and the door of the Commons being thrown open, his Majesty entered the House, and as he passed up towards the chair, he cast his eye on the right hand, near the Bar of the House, where Mr. Pym used to sit; but his Majesty not seeing him there (knowing him well), went up to the chair and said, 'By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little.'

Whereupon the Speaker came out of the chair, and his Majesty stepp'd into it. After he had stayed in the chair a while, he cast his eye upon the members that stood up uncovered, but could not discern any of the five members to be there; nor indeed were they easy to be discerned, had they been there, among so many bare faces all standing up together.

Then his Majesty made this speech: 'Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. iv. p. 484.



a Sergeant-at-Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here. For I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused—for no slight crime but for treason—are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them.'

The King then turned to Lenthall. 'Are any of these persons in the House?' he asked. 'Do you see any of them? Where are they?' To which the Speaker, falling on his knee, thus answered: 'May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me.'

'Well,' said Charles, 'since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither. If not, I will seek them myself, for their treason is foul, and such a one as you will thank me to discover.'

Upon which, with an assurance that he never intended to use force, the King angrily departed, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and his armed attendants, leaving the Commons under the impression that they had narrowly escaped being massacred.

The five members, meanwhile, took refuge in the City, and when Charles came there next day to demand them, the Common Council declined to give them up. Clarendon says they were hidden in Coleman Street, but they may not have been there all the time, for Sir Samuel Somaster, Strode's

brother-in-law, states that they were concealed in Watlin Street, at the house of a woollen-draper named Turnor, and he adds details about Turnor's marriage which lend probability to his statement.<sup>1</sup>

After the outrage on their members, the House of Commons adjourned till January 11, on which day Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Strode, and Hazelrigg returned triumphantly to their places; from that time a guard formed from the trained bands of the City attended daily to watch over the safety of the Parliament.

Pym was now at the height of his fame and influence; even Clarendon allows that he was then 'the most popular man and the most able to do hurt that hath lived at any time.' He 'understood the temper and affections of the people' so well, that throughout the kingdom his name was a household word.

Whilst multitudes of Londoners were volunteering to form a guard 'to defend Mr. Pym,' and the whole nation was roused to the greatest enthusiasm for the five members, it comes a little strangely to read a letter from Dorothea, wherein she seems scarcely to grasp the immense gravity of the situation.

The danger to her father, whilst impeachment was hanging over him, she fully understood: it was nothing less than the loss of his head on Tower Hill; but the wider issue, the fact that even as she wrote, civil war was at the very doors, she seems not to have realised. She was in delicate health at the time, and it is possible that her husband and brother may have combined to conceal their worst fears from her.

<sup>1</sup> The *Somaster MS.* states that in 1644 Turnor married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Nicholas Martyn of Oxtou, Devon. His aristocratic alliance may have been a consequence of his kind action, but it is quite likely that he was as well born as his wife, for younger sons were not above trade. Sir Nicholas was High Sheriff for the county in 1640 and M.P. for Devon from 1646 to 1654.

January 28th.

MY DEARE BROTHER,

I doubte you take more care for me than I deserve or neede. I thank God I am very well but still continue to grow big, so that I pose all the midwives and learned women here who know not to what cause to assign so extraordinary a swelling, but having my health well yet, I think I shall not neede to take physick till the Spring, nor can I think of coming to London unless Sir Francis be chosen of the Parliament, My Lady is extremely against it, and says in plaine termes I will undo her son if I persuaide him to go to London, which I never did, nor need to doe it for he dos more desire it than I. He is so fearfull for me and so tender of me that he thinks no care is enough ; I was in hope this weeke to hear my father and the rest accused should be whollie cleared, I know they are in the opinion of all that know them and the truth ; but till I find the King cleared in it, my thoughts cannot be at rest. I should make a conscience of troubling wise men and statesmen, and because I consider you to be one of the King's great Council I will no longer devert you but only to protest I am

Your affectionate sister

DOROTHEA.

I writ you by Millet and beseech you to send me those things I then entreated by him, let me know who of my female friends are in towne, and where Bess Hewet<sup>1</sup> is, I have some occasion to use some of them. My Love kisses your hands, and desires to be excused for not writing to you this weeke, he hath much business.

Small wonder, indeed, that Sir Francis could only send greetings ; county gentlemen of position had many tasks in those weeks. The first measure of the reassembled Parliament was to direct that orders should be sent to all the Lord-Lieutenants, commanding them to put their counties into a posture of defence ; in other words, to call out the trained bands. The very least that could be done was to muster the regiments, and take care that they were in such a

<sup>1</sup> Probably daughter of Sir John Hewet of Reresby, Huntingdonshire. This letter is in the possession of H. P. Bouverie, Esq. at Brymore.



condition of efficiency that their services could be available at a moment's notice. The Lord-Lieutenant issued his orders to the Deputy-Lieutenants, and these again had to rely on the assistance of the magistrates; for every parish was required to furnish a certain definite number of men, fully armed and equipped. The officers of these militia regiments were naturally, as now, members of the leading county families.

On January 19 the Commons further directed that, as a token of disapprobation of the attempted illegal arrest of their members, and as a means of knowing friends from foes, copies of the protestation which had been signed by both Houses in the previous May, should immediately be sent down to each borough, and subscribed by every individual, male and female, within the boroughs.<sup>1</sup> Lists were also to be made out and returned of the names of those who refused. Probably none but 'recusants' refused to sign, for all over the kingdom towns and villages eagerly welcomed the opportunity of protesting. In some districts the Justices collected the names; in others, the incumbents of parishes made a point of seeing that every member of their congregations appended his or her signature after morning service on Sunday.

The King, meanwhile, was at Windsor; the day before the triumphant return of the five members he and Henrietta Maria hastily left the capital. The royal authority was not yet disputed, bills were still sent up for the King's consent, whilst repeated attempts were made at negotiation between him and the Parliament. But Charles was blind to every chance of reconciliation till it was too late to seize it.

The struggle, then, was for the command of the militia and fortresses. On February 23 the Queen embarked for Holland, to purchase munitions of war for her husband, and

<sup>1</sup> These lists are still preserved amongst the archives of the House of Lords.

on April 23 Charles suddenly appeared before Hull (where her supplies could have been delivered to him), but was refused admission by the Governor. From this day the Civil War may be said to have begun.

The departure of the King and principal officers of State utterly dislocated the machinery of government. Parliament, therefore, appointed a Committee of Public Safety, with Pym at its head, to conduct the affairs of the nation. The organisation of the popular party depended almost wholly upon him, and even aided as he was by other members—chiefly Hampden and Hollis—we can still hardly conceive the immensity of his labours. Pym seems scarcely to have rested day or night. From three in the morning till the evening, and from evening unto midnight, he toiled almost without intermission, literally wearing himself out in the public service.

One of the first measures of the new committee was, as far as possible, to make sure of the counties, by removing from their offices such Lord-Lieutenants as were unfavourable to the Parliament, and in their stead nominating others whose 'good affections' were undoubted. Thus the Earl of Bedford was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Devon, with orders to put the militia into execution not later than July 1.

It was a call to arms. The gentlemen of Devonshire were by no means all of one way of thinking, yet at this supreme moment the horror of a fratricidal war united a very large number—apparently the whole body of magistrates—in an earnest, almost piteous, appeal to the King and Parliament to come to terms. On July 12, at a special sessions, two petitions were drawn up. One, addressed to the Parliament, entreats the Houses

to be pleased above all things to study the pacification of our Royal Sovereign whom we find to our infinite sorrow to be highly incensed. Great hearts are best wrought upon

by submissive intercessions. It shall be your honour to make them in the humblest way your wisdoms can devise, saving to posterity the fundamental rights of Parliament. Two acts we pray for, one of forgiveness, the other of forgetfulness. . . . Distractions are among us through various commands, hardly to be reconciled but by the unity of the King and Parliament. Unity in religion, unity in loyal affection to his Majesty, will according to our protestation, by God's mercy keep us still in peace and charity. The Lord grant it, by your Honours' most approved industry, to the preservation of his Majesty and his dominions in the true protestant religion to all posterity, &c., &c.

The other, the petition to the King, gives us some insight into the unhappy condition of the county of Devon.

MOST GRACIOUS AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

Your poor dejected suppliants cannot so far neglect our duties and affections as to be silent . . . in these times of public calamity, in our petitions to your Majesty. The lamentable distractions and convulsions whereby each member is drawn from the other, and each loyal heart rent within itself, makes us fly to your Majesty as a physician to cure us, and fall at your feet as a compassionate father to relieve us, being confident that your Majesty owns as well a will, as an ability to help us. The debt we owe . . . commands us to acknowledge our obligation to your Majesty for passing so many good laws for your and your kingdom's benefit. And yet the unhappy differences between your Majesty and both Houses of Parliament have to our inexpressible grief, bereaved us of the fruit we were ready to reap, and left us nothing but complaints, tears and prayers to feed on. Your Majesty commands our obedience to the Commission of Array, whilst both Houses of Parliament adjudgeth us betrayers of our liberty and property if we do so. They persuade submission to the militia, whilst your Majesty proclaimeth it unlawful and derogatory to your prerogative. How unhappy are we here, made judges in apparent contraries . . . we cannot choose but look upon the privileges of Parliament with a natural affection . . . we desire to preserve them, because the death of liberty without that support is inevitable. Our hearty



humble petition now is that your Majesty would be pleased, as you have graciously offered, to grant your general pardon of all things mistaken or misdome, and that you would please to reinstate your great Council in the same affections you and your Royal ancestors have borne towards them, to enliven justice by your presence and union with it, in such a way and manner as to your excellent wisdom shall be thought meet for the closing up of the present breaches of this distracted and the other bleeding kingdom of Ireland.

The which we have also humbly supplicated the honourable Houses of Parliament. We are not presumptuous to petition for the way but beg the end, &c., &c.

Nothing came of these petitions; they would probably never have availed much, and now they were too late. Most of the gentlemen who subscribed them were soon actively engaged in military preparations, and must have been absent from Exeter in October; or else by the King's orders their names had been struck off from his Commission of the Peace. We find very few well-known signatures among the seventeen appended to a 'Presentment of Grievances' made by the Grand Jury to Sir Robert Foster, Justice of Assize, Western Circuit, complaining that the King was 'still estranged from the Parliament; that the Commission of Array was a great grievance and terror to them all; that the war actually begun in other parts of the kingdom, and fearful preparing in their own county, tended to the dissolution of the ancient government of the kingdom; that too many members of both Houses wilfully deserted their service there'; lastly, 'that they missed so many of their ancient and well-deserving justices, in the Commission of the Peace then read to them, and feared that public damage might ensue thereby.'

This remonstrance was delivered on October 12, and barely a fortnight later Charles set up his standard at Nottingham.

The Parliamentary army was commanded by the Earl of Essex, and whilst he was confronting the King in the

Midlands, the Committee of Public Safety made haste to secure as many fortified towns as possible. Plymouth was quickly garrisoned for the Parliament, partly by troops belonging to the army under the Earl of Bedford, and partly by its own local forces. In connexion with these, Sir Francis Drake offered his services to the borough, and was instrumental in raising the regiment known as the 'Plymouth Horse,'<sup>1</sup> of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. Similar arming was going on in every direction. In Somersetshire, Alexander Pym raised a troop of horse with which he joined the Devonshire army; in Dorsetshire, hostilities had already commenced, and it must have been hard for Sir Francis to decide whether or not it was wise for Dorothea to remain at Buckland, and whither he could send her to feel sure she was in a place of safety, for at the commencement of the war it was obviously the intention of the King to march to London, as soon as he was master of sufficient force to conquer the city.

Lady Joan had been anxious to keep her son out of Parliament lest he should be drawn into dangerous courses by the influence of his impetuous uncle William; but here were other perils which could not be avoided. It is difficult for us to realise the misery caused by the dissensions of that unhappy time, when, without fault of their own, fathers and sons, brothers and cousins who loved one another truly, the noblest-hearted men in England, were compelled by conscience to range themselves in opposite camps. Every family had both Royalist and Parliamentary friends and connexions, and the Drakes may justly have esteemed themselves more fortunate than many others, since all their nearest relations fought on the same side.

Thomas Drake put away his lawyer's gown and took a

<sup>1</sup> Francis Buller to Sir Richard Buller, Oct. 10, 1642. *Buller Papers*, privately printed 1895.

commission in Lord Rochford's regiment. John Drake had adopted arms as a profession. In 1640 he was serving in Ireland under the Earl of Ormonde; later on we find him as a lieutenant with the Parliamentary forces in Devonshire. Mr. Crymes ere long donned the uniform of the Plymouth regiment of foot. The Strodes were, of course, on the national side; so also were the Trefusises, father and son, and Sir John Bamfield, son of Sir Francis's aunt, Elizabeth Drake. His cousins, the Rouses of Halton, and his uncles, Sir Samuel Somaster, Sir John Davie of Creedy, Sir John Young of Stetscombe, and Sir George Chudleigh, were all attached to the cause of the Parliament.

Contributions of men, horses, money and arms were eagerly pressed for on both sides; and as plate was accepted in lieu of coin, large quantities were brought in to be melted down; which explains why it is that so few families possess English silver with a hall-mark older than the time of Charles II.

On October 19, the Deputy-Lieutenants of Devon and other principal landowners were ordered by Parliament to meet together in convenient places, and convene before them each particular person of ability. They were to demand what every man would lend, either by the week, month, or in the gross, for the defence of the kingdom, and to declare that those who would not contribute to this necessary service did as much as in them lay to betray their religion, liberty, and property; showing themselves 'dead members' that had no feeling of the calamity of the kingdom, and, therefore, they should not be protected by the horse and arms which should be raised within that county. Furthermore, it was ordered that those 'which shall be most notoriously refractory, shall be sent up to the Parliament to give an account of why they refuse.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *State Pap. Dom.*, October 19, 1642.



This was a threat quite in the manner of James I, and it is certainly curious to find the Parliament, at the very outset, falling easily and naturally into a way of obtaining money by forced loans, which the Petition of Rights had so recently pronounced to be illegal.

In Devonshire, however, but little resistance was anticipated, as may be gathered from the next resolution, 'that a troop of horse be presently raised, and one hundred dragoons for the quiet of that county, to answer all alarms, to bring up to the Parliament delinquents, &c.'; plainly showing that at headquarters the dimensions which the struggle would soon take in the West were then by no means clearly foreseen.

The magistrates of Devon, with some notable exceptions, may be said as a general rule to have declared for the Parliament. They agreed (at the expense of the county) to raise a troop of horse for the national service, provided that they might choose their own officers, and that the men should be paid out of the funds collected for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland.

The offer was not a stupendous one, seeing that the full number required for a troop of horse, exclusive of corporals, drummers, farriers, and saddlers, was only sixty men, but the need was great and the proposal was welcomed.

The first battle of the Civil War was fought at Edgehill, on October 23; each party claimed the victory. William Strode was present at this engagement, but whether as a volunteer or as holding any official position is not known. He returned to London immediately to give an account of the affair to the House.

In a very short time Devonshire also was the seat of war. The first indications of approaching danger appeared at the commencement of October. When the defence of Sherborne Castle was abandoned by the Earl of Hertford, a small body

of horse—too small to be considered of consequence—was brought by Sir Ralph Hopton from Dorsetshire to Cornwall. Here they were welcomed by Sir Bevil Grenville and the High Sheriff, Sir Francis Basset of Tehidy, who called out the *posse comitatus* to increase their numbers.<sup>1</sup> Thus strengthened, they possessed themselves of Launceston Castle, drove the Parliamentarians out of Saltash and forced their Committee to take refuge at Plymouth.

Content for the moment with this advantage, the Cornishmen dispersed to their homes, but some volunteer regiments were raised in that county, and these, placing themselves under the command of Sir Ralph Hopton, began to make excursions into Devonshire.

This was the situation of affairs when the following letter was penned by the Cornish Parliamentary Committee. It has a peculiar interest for us, as it discloses what Mr. Trefusis, Sir Francis's stepfather, was doing at this time.

1642. November 11th. Plymouth. Alexander Carew, Francis Buller, John St. Aubyn, John Trefusis, Francis Godolphin, John Carter, Richard Errisey, and Thomas Arundel, to John Pym and the Committee for the Safety and Kingdom.

We wonder much that our County of Cornwall should be so much neglected by you. Since our last, Colonel Ryven,<sup>2</sup> with some of ours, were invited by the insolency of our Cornish adversaries and their invasion of Devon, to try their mettle by falling out upon them as they lay in Millbroke;<sup>3</sup> once upon our appearing they immediately

<sup>1</sup> The militia could only be put into execution by the Lord-Lieutenant, but in times of public danger, whether of invasion or of insurrection, the Sheriff could issue his warrant of *posse comitatus*, when every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty was bound to attend. Neither the militia nor the posse could be called upon to go beyond the borders of their own county. On this point both the Devonshire and the Cornish men were obstinately particular; hence the necessity for volunteer regiments which could follow up an advantage, when the trained bands and the posse would not.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel William Ruthven, a Scotch soldier of experience, Governor of Plymouth.

<sup>3</sup> Just over the borders of Cornwall, close to Mount Edgcumbe.

fled, leaving to our mercy five of their company, one of whom was a lieutenant, with their horse and furniture. The Sheriff of Cornwall not only continues his malignancy, but gives it new accession. The posse comitatus is now raising a second time. This town is doubted.<sup>1</sup> Their strength is great, five or six thousand well armed, and plentifully provided with money by their taking up the subsidy contribution for Ireland and the County stock. Ours is small, which again provokes our petition for a speedy supply, especially of money and arms : pistols, carbines, and saddles in the first place. Devon pretends but little and will act less.<sup>2</sup> Each procrastination is dangerous to us. We dare not give our reason. Papers are not safe. We again implore your speedy succour.<sup>3</sup>

The help thus craved for was sent at last, but not in time to prevent Sir Ralph Hopton from making himself completely master of Cornwall.

Meanwhile, the Royalist party in Devon had fixed their headquarters near Plympton, at Modbury Castle, the seat of Mr. Champernowne. Here, early in December, they were joined by Sir Nicholas Slanning,<sup>4</sup> Governor of Pendennis Castle, with two thousand Cornish men and horse, and on the 6th of the month they were met by Sir Edmund Fortescue, the High Sheriff of Devon, who, with a view of enlisting volunteers for the Royal cause, issued his warrant of *posse comitatus*, which was largely responded to.

The commanders of the Plymouth garrison having intelligence of this, entered into consultation, with the result that, early on the following morning, Colonel Ruthven, Sir Francis Drake, Captain Thompson, Captain Pym, Captain Gould and some others, with five hundred horse and dragoons,

<sup>1</sup> Unjustly, for although there were divisions in the town, throughout the Civil War Plymouth was faithful to the Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> For the assistance of Cornwall. There had been meetings in Exeter to try and arrange combined action.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Commission. Collection of Philip P. Bouverie, Esq., of Brymore.

<sup>4</sup> Of Maristow, in the parish of Bickleigh, now the seat of Sir Massey Lopes.



marched away very privately towards Roborough Down as if they meant to go to Tavistock, and then wheeled about towards Ivy Bridge on Plymouth road, and so went to Modbury, where, in Mr. Champernowne's house and in the town, they found the Sheriff with divers other gentlemen of quality, and two thousand trained soldiers and volunteers. Presently, on their approach, the trained bands calling out "The troopers are come!" all the country people fled, most of them being naked [unarmed] men, and those that had arms threw them down and ran away without any arms or horses. Modbury Castle was beset, but the Sheriff and gentlemen stood bravely upon their defence until it was fired; when the assailants breaking in, possessed the house and took divers prisoners, including Sir Edmund Fortescue, the High Sheriff, Colonel Sir Edward Seymour, Edward Seymour, his son, Arthur Basset, Esq., Colonel Henry Champernowne, Edmund Tremayne, Esq., Captain Peter Fortescue, Captain Pomeroy, and Master Shapcot, Clerk of the Peace.<sup>1</sup> After which they marched away towards Dartmouth with their prisoners, where that night, having been sixteen hours in the saddle, they safely arrived, bringing a good store of arms with them.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as was possible, the gentlemen were shipped on board Captain Plunket's ship, the *Cresset*, and sent to London under the care of Captain Thomas Drake, who, on December 27, arrived with them at Gravesend, where he delivered them to the musketeers appointed by the Parliament to conduct them to the prisons of Lambeth House and Winchester House. They were to be taken 'in a private

<sup>1</sup> See *Remarkable Passages*, Dec. 14, 1642, and a letter from R.B. to Master Stock.

<sup>2</sup> Scripture was turned to strange account in those days. One of the Cavaliers' ensigns taken on this occasion had on it the device of a cannon, with this motto issuing from it: 'Oh Lord, open Thou my lips and my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise'!—*The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, Dec. 27, 1642.

manner by water, . . . because they should not be vilified by the people'; possibly, also, for other reasons, as seven at the least were influential persons, whose capture was considered at Westminster to be of sufficient consequence to warrant a vote of thanks to Captain Drake for his fidelity in bringing them up safely.

Meanwhile, in spite of the raid on Modbury Castle, Sir Nicholas Slanning rallied his forces and entrenched them in the neighbourhood, whilst Sir Ralph Hopton stationed himself before Plymouth to prevent supplies coming to the town.

On December 31—perhaps in reply to the attack on Mr. Champernowne's house—the Royalist troopers came quite near to Buckland, pillaged Crapstone, and carried off Mr. Crymes and his servants to Totnes, where they were imprisoned by order of Sir Ralph.<sup>1</sup> Another mansion in the district which fared as badly was that of Sergeant Maynard at Tavistock. The Cornish troops plundered it of everything of value, tore up the Sergeant's writings, cut his beds in pieces and cast abroad the feathers, burnt the wainscot, and pulled down part of the roof of his house.<sup>2</sup> These cases were then exceptional, for Sir Ralph Hopton was one of the few commanders during the Civil War who did their utmost to prevent soldiers from injuring non-combatants.

Proclamations against robbery were issued both by the King and the Parliament; the latter went further, even ordering 'restitution to be made of all such moneys and goods as had been formerly taken from any man by plunder or pillage'; but such ordinances were necessarily almost dead letters; neither Royalist nor Parliamentary commanders could enforce perfectly strict discipline upon their irregularly

<sup>1</sup> 'True Newes from Devonshire and Cornwall,' *King's Pamphlets*, E. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal Occurrences*, Dec. 4, 1642.

paid troops, many of whom were volunteers, able to desert at their pleasure without being amenable to martial law.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Crymes's imprisonment was not of long duration; we soon find him acting as one of the 'Captains of the Town' at Plymouth. He was probably liberated towards the middle of January 1643, when the Earl of Stamford, with all the forces he could collect, advanced from Exeter into Cornwall, supposing that he should make an easy conquest of that county. He was, however, defeated near Liskeard at the battle of Braddock Down and driven back into Devonshire, pursued by the Royalists, who, repossessing themselves of Saltash, advanced to Tavistock, where they took up their quarters.

In the following month fortune again favoured the Parliamentarians; they routed Sir Nicholas Slanning out of his entrenchments at Modbury and drove Sir Ralph Hopton from his position before Plymouth.

Both parties were by this time sufficiently tired of fighting, and honours being now pretty evenly divided, at the beginning of March some gentlemen of Cornwall made overtures that a treaty of peace should be entered into between the two counties whereby the war might be removed into other parts of the kingdom.

A suspension of arms was agreed upon for seven days, and then for twenty days more, whilst the local and military authorities debated whether the four counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall should go on fighting or form themselves into an association to remain neutral in the strife between the King and the Parliament, and defend each other with all the forces available against any attack whatsoever. This ingenuous scheme was disapproved at Westminster, and in consequence, at the conclusion of the

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Chudleigh to the Committee for the Safety of the Kingdom, March 3, 1642-3.



truce, which ended on March 24 at midnight, hostilities broke out afresh.

Part of the army in Devonshire was under the command of Sergeant-Major General James Chudleigh,<sup>1</sup> who was then an active officer for the Parliament. He had received intelligence which led him to believe that Launceston Castle might be taken by surprise, and therefore marched his troops towards that place very early on the morning of the 25th—which happened to be on a Sunday. The guard on the bridge was soon overpowered by Captain Thomas Drake's troop, and the Parliamentary force crossed in safety with their artillery, but as they began to march up hill through the fields towards the town they were descried from the Castle, which stands on a very high mound, or mount, commanding a most extensive view of the surrounding country. The garrison, which had been secretly reinforced, was well prepared and made such a stout resistance on the low ground around the Castle, that, after a fight which lasted nearly ten hours, Major-General Chudleigh was compelled to draw off his forces, and it was only by his own great personal gallantry that he managed to save one of his cannons from being abandoned at the bridge.

The Parliamentarians retreated in good order, first to Lifton and then to Okehampton.

Upon the next day, being Tuesday, they removed their horse to be in quarters at Bridestowe nearer to the enemy, and now most of the horse being drawn into the town and a part of them sent before to take quarter for themselves, they being on their way, discovered the enemy with his whole body, five hundred horse and dragoons and between four and five thousand foot, to be marching within three miles of the town . . . on Sowertown Down. Some of the men returned

<sup>1</sup> Eldest surviving son of Sir George Chudleigh. The Sergeant-Major General occupied much the same position that the Adjutant-General does now. It was his duty to draw up the plan of battle and see that the orders of the General, for the position of the troops, were attended to.

with this intelligence to the Major-General . . . who had then about a thousand foot and not sixty horse, and was therefore in a bad case to resist such an army. The carriages had been dismissed and no fresh supply of horses and plowes come in, whereby it was apparent there could be no present retreat, and to stand still had been to lose their artillery ammunition and themselves.

This great strait caused, or rather forced, the Major and his Captains to resolve to draw out their horse, with a purpose to face the enemy, and to give order to the foot to march to the town to favour the retreat of the horse if need were. This done . . . the Major espying a plot of ground which seemed to promise much advantage for him to be in ambuscado and a fair opportunity to charge the enemy . . . drew his horse, which were but an hundred and eight, into six divisions, and gave order that none should fall upon the enemy's scouts, but suffer them to come in and fall into their troops, and so become their prisoners to prevent intelligence. But one of their own men by accident discharged a carbine, whereby the enemy had notice of them and thereupon drew up into a full body, both their horse and foot in good order, and marched on; and some of them gave fire, whereupon Captain Thomas Drake with a party of eighteen horse being ordered to fall on first, most courageously charged the enemy's horse, killed his first man, commanded his company saying, 'Charge on, charge on, they run, they run.'

Presently the Major himself charged with the like brave courage and undaunted resolution, and cried out to the soldiers, 'Charge all, charge all, and kill them all which will not lay down their arms.' Hereupon Captain Gould charged most valiantly through a whole regiment of foot which came up in the van of the enemy's infantry. Captain Pym<sup>1</sup> and the rest played their parts like most valiant men. The enemy's horse dragoons and the van of their foot were routed at the very first assault, and by the help of them routed the rest of the army, charging through and through to their very ordnance, . . . and so by the mighty hand of God, a few of the hundred and eight did rout the whole army, killed divers, hurt many, caused most of them to throw down their arms, made all their horse dragoons and many of their foot to flie.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Pym, Lady Drake's brother.

<sup>2</sup> 'A true Relation,' *King's Pamphlets*, E. 91, 4.

The Royalist leaders had hairbreadth escapes. Lord Mohun was seized, stripped of his coat, and then let go by a trooper who did not recognise him. Sir Nicholas Slanning was also taken, but, being well mounted, tore himself away with the loss of his scarf.

All that night James Chudleigh's small body of horse kept the field whilst his artillery were retreating on Crediton, and the next day they made for Exeter, where the citizens were so greatly delighted with the 'valour and wit' of their Major-General that they presented him with a basin and ewer worth a hundred pounds.<sup>1</sup>

It is pleasing to find that the townspeople were in a position to offer themselves the luxury of this bit of liberality, for we hear much of the unprecedented heaviness of financial burdens. Early in the year it had been found that voluntary contributions no longer sufficed to meet the expenses of the war, and, at the beginning of March, Parliament ordered Commissioners to be appointed in every county to assess and levy a tax on all such persons as had not already contributed according to their estates and abilities. The Commissioners for Devonshire were Sir Peter Prideaux, Sir George Chudleigh, Sir John Pole, Sir John Northcote, Sir Edmund Fowell, Sir Samuel Rolle, Sir Shilston Calmady, Sir Nicholas Martyn, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Davie, Robert Savery, Henry Walrond, John Worthy, Hugh Fortescue, Arthur Upton, and George Trowbridge, Esquires. The amount they were required to send up from the county of Devon was at first three thousand pounds weekly.<sup>2</sup>

The Commissioners for Cornwall were those previously mentioned, but as they had been 'dispossessed of their county' by the Royalists, their present appointment was merely nominal.

<sup>1</sup> A letter from Plymouth, May 15, 1643, signed J.T.

<sup>2</sup> This was afterwards reduced to £1,800 weekly.—*King's Pamphlets*, E. 63, 1643.



In order to bring Cornwall into obedience to the Parliament, and to prevent Sir Ralph Hopton from making his way east to the assistance of the King, the Earl of Stamford collected a large force with which, towards the middle of April, he advanced into that county and encamped on a hill near the town of Stratton. On May 16, having intelligence of an intended muster of the trained bands at Bodmin, and being then in no expectation of an attack by the Royalists, he dispatched almost the whole of his horse there under the command of Sir George Chudleigh. Meanwhile the Royalists fell upon the Parliamentarians, who, being unsupported by cavalry, were routed after severe fighting and put to flight, leaving their cannon on the ground and their Major-General in the hands of the enemy. With his accustomed gallantry James Chudleigh had advanced farther than was prudent, and the men with him—raw levies of trained bands—not supporting him properly, he was surrounded and taken. The defeat was so overwhelming that had it not been for the steadiness of a regiment of mariners from Plymouth and Dartmouth, and the courage of the ‘London Greycoats,’ the whole of the Parliamentary army would have been cut to pieces.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the close of the day, as Sir George Chudleigh was returning from a successful raid on Bodmin, he was met by the fleeing Parliamentarians, with the news that a battle had been fought and lost and that his son was a prisoner. Whereupon, with the dragoons and part of the vanquished army, he retreated into Plymouth, whilst the scattered remainder made the best of their way to Exeter.

The Earl of Stamford, who was responsible for the fatal error of judgment which had detached the horse from the army, tried to screen himself by casting all the blame upon the Chudleighs, declaring that James had treacherously

<sup>1</sup> ‘Certain Informations,’ *King's Pamphlets*, E. 104, 16.

surrendered to the enemy. Stung by this unmerited imputation, disgusted, too, with the cowardice of the Devonshire foot, who had thrown down their arms and run away, and worked upon, it is said, by the kindness of the Cavalier commanders, James Chudleigh unfortunately gave further colour to the aspersions of his enemies by going over to the Royalists within ten days of his capture.

A letter to his father announcing his defection, urging him likewise to desert the Parliamentary cause and to bring over with him, if he could, Sir John Bamfield and Sir Nicholas Martyn, was intercepted and made use of by Lord Stamford. Sir George Chudleigh, grieved and perplexed at James's infidelity, laid down his commission, saying that his 'son's villainy could not but reflect upon his father's innocence, and that, till he had cleared the suspicions that might rest upon him, he would not proceed in the service.'<sup>1</sup> Public feeling ran very strongly against James Chudleigh, but Sir George's perfect uprightness was not really doubted, then or later; and when Lord Stamford's complaints were read in the House of Commons, 'to so little credit had he grown amongst them that they presently fell on a resolution of making Waller General of the West.'<sup>2</sup>

But whilst the members were debating, Sir Ralph Hopton marched rapidly to Exeter, and was already before the walls summoning the garrison to surrender. Here, for the moment, we will leave him while we turn aside to family matters.

We have dwelt at some length on the doings of James Chudleigh, less for his own sake—for his character commands neither respect nor sympathy—than because the consequences of his tergiversations outlived him and had an unhappy influence on the career of his first cousin, Major Thomas Drake.

<sup>1</sup> *Certain Remarkable Passages*, E. 104, 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Mercurius Aulicus*, E. 55, 14.

James Chudleigh was a brilliant officer, a brave man, and certainly no traitor, although—unlike his father in this—the personal note was always the dominant one with him. Sir George had taken arms with the deepest reluctance, solely because it had seemed to him that the ancient liberties of his country were in danger of being for ever lost, swallowed up in prerogative. But James Chudleigh was not troubled with questions of principle; he looked upon war merely with the eyes of a soldier anxious to distinguish himself. If he could gain reputation, it mattered little to him whether the King or the Parliament profited by his talents. Although only twenty-three years of age, he had seen active service, having learned the rudiments of his profession in one of the Continental campaigns; subsequently, he had joined the King's army, and in 1641 had been forward in promoting the Army Plot to bring a force from the north to overawe the Parliament. When this conspiracy was discovered, James Chudleigh had given evidence much to the disadvantage of the Court. He had then been appointed to a command in Ireland, to aid in suppressing the rebellion there. Returning to England about the end of 1642, he had gone to Oxford with the intention of offering his services to the King, but being ill received, 'came back to London sufficiently incensed that he was neglected.'<sup>1</sup> Pique and the influence of his father and his father's friends did the rest; he quickly engaged himself in the service of the Parliament; and pique now took him back to the side he always preferred. He wrote to Sir George that he was 'amongst honest, valiant gentlemen, and such as he knew would prevail over the Devonians.' Strange to say, although James Chudleigh could easily (one imagines) have been transferred to some other branch of the Royal army, he remained with the force which for fifteen weeks continued to besiege Exeter, when he might at any

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon.



time have come into personal collision with his deeply injured parent, or with his brother Christopher, who was also in one of the Parliamentary regiments.

What bitter tears poor Lady Chudleigh must have shed at Ashton ! For here, because of her very large family, she in all likelihood remained, notwithstanding the war. Indeed, if we judge from the registers of births and burials, most of the Devonshire ladies clung to their homes until the Royalists decidedly gained the upper hand. Then we begin to see a marked difference.

In the summer of 1643 we find Dorothea Drake still at Buckland, where apparently she had the companionship of her sister-in-law, Mrs. Thomas Drake, whose eldest daughter, Mary, was baptised there on May 7. It is less easy to know what had become of the dowager Lady Drake and her daughters ; she could scarcely have stayed at Trefusis whilst her husband was on the Committee of the Parliament for Cornwall. Trefusis, moreover, was not a sufficiently strong place to be capable of resisting an attack by the neighbouring garrison of Pendennis Castle. Possibly the family took up their quarters at Werrington, as a little later we find it called ' Lady Drake's house.' This it never really was, although at the commencement of the troubles Sir Francis may have lent it to his mother and Mr. Trefusis, because its proximity to Launceston, where the Committee then sat, would have made it a convenient temporary abode for them.

After the first Royalist successes, when the Cornish Parliamentary Committee were ' dispossessed of their County,' Lady Joan may have been glad to reside at Werrington, but she was a stout-hearted lady if she dwelt long in that disturbed country. There was, indeed, no district in England where the tide of civil war rolled backwards and forwards more fiercely and constantly than it did over the borders of Devon and Cornwall.

For nearly three months, however, after the battle of Stratton, the neighbourhood of Plymouth was left in peace, and before the tramp of armed men again resounded over Roborough Down there can be little doubt that Sir Francis sent his wife away from the Abbey to be with her father in London. The journey was less dangerous than might be supposed. Ladies travelling with only their own personal luggage easily obtained passes from the commanders of both armies, and even without this protection they were not usually harmed, although their horses were sometimes requisitioned.

Notices of the Drake family now become very fragmentary; here and there in the pamphlets of the day we find a few words which enable us to guess where Sir Francis or Thomas Drake were, but for a time we lose sight of the others altogether. We may be tolerably certain that Sir Francis was at Bodmin with Sir George Chudleigh at the time of the battle of Stratton, and that with him he retreated into Plymouth. Here a message was received from the Royalist commanders summoning the town to surrender immediately, but no attack followed, Sir Ralph Hopton preferring to direct his forces against Exeter. He had, however, scarcely encamped, when he was ordered to join his army with that of Prince Maurice. Staying, therefore, at Exeter only long enough to fix a garrison at Columb-John<sup>1</sup> to harass the city, Sir Ralph marched to Tiverton and thence into Somersetshire, where, early in June, at Chard, he effected the desired junction with the Royalist forces under Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford. Thence they proceeded to Taunton, Bridgwater, and Dunster Castle, into all of which places they put Royalist garrisons. The government of Dunster Castle was given to Sir Francis Wyndham, and that of Bridgwater to his brother, Colonel Edmund Wyndham, High Sheriff of the county. We

<sup>1</sup> A seat of the Acland family, about three miles from Exeter.

note this briefly here because by and by we shall have occasion to allude to the Wyndhams at greater length.

Whilst the Royalist generals were thus employed, Sir William Waller was at Bath with the Parliamentary troops, awaiting reinforcements from London. The two armies came into collision at Lansdown, on July 5, 1643, a day memorable for the death of Sir Bevil Grenville, who was fatally wounded early in the battle, 'ending his life with as much honour as mortal flesh is capable of.'<sup>1</sup> His loss clouded the otherwise brilliant victory of the Royalists, and was as sorrowfully lamented in the opposite camp by many old friends who had not been able to take the same view of duty as himself. Among these we may certainly reckon Mr. Trefusis. Just before the war broke out, Sir Bevil, writing to congratulate Sir Nicholas Slanning on his appointment as Governor of Pendennis Castle, added this postscript to his letter: 'You are, Sir, environed with many felicities, I wish them centupled, but I only grutch you one w<sup>h</sup> is the neighbourhood to my ancient most dear & nob: fr: of Tref: because I can't share it with you.' How little bitterness the best men on either side felt against each other is illustrated in the Verney correspondence and in the well-known letter of Sir William Waller to Sir Ralph Hopton; but when peace came at last, old friendships can scarcely have been the same again, and for the tender-hearted in those times it was, perhaps, as good to die as to live.

To return to the battle of Lansdown. We have reason to suppose that Thomas Drake must have been present at this engagement, because one of the pamphlets of the day records that 'Captain Drake's lieutenant was killed,'<sup>2</sup> but there is no other mention of him.

The events of the next few weeks need not be enumerated

<sup>1</sup> History of the Granville Family.

<sup>2</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 60, 12.



here. The Royalist victories, which succeeded each other rapidly, are matters of history, not immediately affecting the fortunes of any members of the Drake family. We come, therefore, to the middle of August 1643, when, after the capture of Bristol, Prince/Maurice advanced into Devonshire with a sufficient force to invest Exeter, which had been for many weeks besieged by Sir John Berkeley. Attempts of the Parliament to relieve the garrison by a fleet sent under the command of the Earl of Warwick had failed, partly owing to the shallowness of the Exe. Lord Stamford, however, still held out in the expectation of receiving reinforcements by land. On September 1 or 2, Maurice summoned the town, offering honourable terms, but, although the Governor and the Committee replied in a letter full of dutiful sentiments, expressing a desire to assist in 'reseating Maurice's princely family on its native banks of Rhine,' they declined to deliver up the city. Their actions, they said, were 'as far from delusion and obstinacy as their hearts were free from rebellion and disloyalty, but that, having taken up arms as they believed upon just grounds, honour and conscience were both joined in their action of not laying them down.' They subscribed themselves his Highness's humble, obliged servants, Stamford, Francis Drake, Nicholas Martyn, John Bamfield, Henry Walrond, Samuel Rolle, and Christopher Clerk, Mayor.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, necessity soon compelled these gentlemen to lower their high tone: three days later, their powder, shot, and other provisions being quite spent, and no relief coming to them, after a brave defence of fifteen weeks, they surrendered upon the conditions at first proposed.<sup>2</sup> The commanders and officers were to march out with their swords by their sides; no disrespect was to be shown to them or to the common soldiers, who were to depart without their arms. All

<sup>1</sup> *Mercurius Aulicus*, E. 67, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 11 to 18, 1643.

were to take with them such goods as properly belonged to them, and have liberty to join the Parliamentary forces elsewhere. A free pardon dating from the commencement of the Civil War was promised by Prince Maurice to any of the garrison who chose to sue for it, but apparently none did ; most of the officers—doubtless including Sir Francis—made their way to Plymouth as quickly as possible, in the expectation that that city would now be closely invested. Fortunately for them, however, and for the Parliament, Maurice determined first to attack Dartmouth, which detained him a month and gave time for the reinforcement of Plymouth.

In the assault on Dartmouth, James Chudleigh lost his life ; he was wounded in the body by a musket shot and died on October 5, after lingering a few days in much suffering. Clarendon speaks of him as a gallant officer and a wonderful loss to the King's service.

When the siege of Dartmouth was successfully concluded, Prince Maurice marched with all convenient speed to Plymouth and sat down before the city, in the full confidence of reducing it before the end of the winter. His first serious attack was moderately fortunate ; on November 5 he captured Mount Stamford (an outwork), which remained for nearly a year in the hands of the Royalists. But this was Maurice's solitary success. On the 13th of the month, an attempt to storm Plymouth resulted in severe loss to his army, and on December 21 he raised the siege, falling back with his forces on Plympton, Tavistock, and Modbury, from all of which places he could harass the garrison in their attempts to re-victual the town. In one of these foraging expeditions some Plymouth soldiers were at Tamerton, where bread had been surreptitiously baked for them during the siege, when they were suddenly set upon by a party of Cavaliers stationed at Buckland ; the latter, however, were driven off with the loss of nine men. We mention this unimportant little

skirmish merely because it shows that at this time the village of Buckland, and doubtless the Abbey also, had fallen into the hands of the Royalists.

During the investment of Plymouth, Thomas Drake appears to have been within the walls. His name is appended to the decision of the Council of War on a matter in dispute between the Governor and the Commander of the forces.<sup>1</sup> Ellis Crymes was also there as one of the 'captains of the town,' and as Sir Francis was Colonel of the Plymouth Regiment of Horse, it is natural to conclude that he was likewise in the neighbourhood, whilst his wife found safety with her relations in London.

Postal communication with the capital seems to have been tolerably regular in those days, but as the published news was always about ten days old, it is evident that the letters had to be sent by sea. This slowness in getting tidings from the West must have added appreciably to poor Dorothea Drake's sorrows and anxieties, already heavy enough. Her father's health had been failing for some months, but he would not spare himself.

In August, when the Parliament's fortunes were at the very lowest, when town after town was falling into the hands of the Cavaliers, and even Essex himself was inclined to advise a compromise with the King, Pym, notwithstanding the gravity of his indisposition, travelled to Aylesbury, where Essex's headquarters were, and 'by his power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper which he afterwards swerved not from.'<sup>2</sup> It was almost the last notable service this zealous statesman was able to perform for his country. Early in October the Royalists were cheered by the announcement that 'Master John Pym keeps his bed.' Nevertheless he rallied a little, and in November it even

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 35, *Military Scribe*, Feb. 27, 1644.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon.



seemed possible that he might be restored to some degree of health. 'We have given the enemy a great and notable defeat this week,' says the *Parliament Scout*, 'if our newes hold, for whereas they have for many weeks expected the death of Master Pym, and horses have stood ready in several stables and almost eaten out their heads for those that were to go with the newes to Oxford, and had promise of great reward and knighthood that brought it first ; now he is likely to recover and sit in the House of Commons again, to facilitate business and to see the end of the miseries of England. This will trouble the other party more by far than the rout that Sir William Waller gave to Sir Ralph Hopton on Tuesday last.' These hopes were not realised : on December 8, worn out by the multiplicity of his labours, Pym's steadfast spirit passed peacefully away.

The malignity of his enemies, who had never ceased to slander him in life, pursued him to the end. So untrue were the reports circulated as to the nature of Pym's illness, that Sir Theodore Mayerne and seven other physicians were constrained to publish a narrative of his decease, certifying that the cause of his death was an internal abscess.

He had his intellectuals very intire to the last, and his sleep for the most part very sufficient and quiet . . . so that inappetency, faintness and nautiousness were the great complaints he usually made. At last, after a long languishment, the imposthume breaking, he often fainted and soon after followed his dissolution.

Doctor Stephen Marshall, an old and intimate friend, tells us that Pym maintained the same evenness of spirit throughout his sickness as in the time of his health,

professing to myself that it was to him an indifferent thing to live or die ; if he lived he would do what service he could, if he died he would go to that God whom he had served and who would carry on his work by others ; and to others he

said that if his life and death were put in a balance, he would not willingly cast in one dram to turn the balance either way. This was his temper all the time of his sickness ; such of his family or friends who endeavoured to be near him lest he should faint away in his weakness, have heard him importunately pray for the King's/Majesty and his posterity, for the Parliament, for the public cause ; for himself begging nothing : and a little before his end, having recovered out of a swoond, seeing his friends weeping around him, he cheerfully told them that he had looked death in the face and knew, and therefore feared not the worst it could do, assuring them that his heart was filled with more comfort and joy which he felt from God, than his tongue was able to utter : and whilst the reverent minister was at prayers with him he slept quietly with his God.

Pym's remains lay in state at Derby House,<sup>1</sup> an official residence of members of Parliament, whither he had removed at the request of the House of Commons not long before his death. Nearly a thousand persons were permitted to view the corpse, in order to give an undeniable refutation to the falsehoods industriously circulated respecting his illness. Public mourning for him was deep and general. The Commons, to whom his loss was especially grievous, ordered as a mark of their great esteem and respect ' that the body of Mr. Pym be interred in Westminster Abbey, without any charge for breaking open the ground there, and that the Speaker with the whole House do accompany his body to interrment.' They, moreover, appointed a Committee ' to consider of some way for a recompense to the posterity of Mr. Pym, and the payment of those debts which he had contracted in the service of the Commonwealth.' Finding that in his care for the public he had so impoverished his estate that his family would be but slenderly provided for, the House voted that a sum of £10,000 should be appropriated towards the payment of his debts and the portions of his children.

<sup>1</sup> In Cannon Row, situated just where the police offices of Scotland Yard now are. The gardens reached down to the water.

The Royalists had left no calumny untried which they hoped might injure Pym. For a long while, conscious of his own integrity, he had disdained to notice their aspersions, but at length a just care for his reputation had compelled him to publish a 'Vindication' of his conduct. Parliament had also interfered for his protection by bringing certain persons to trial who declared that he took bribes, that he had cozened the King out of enough money to buy himself a good estate, and 'that he had given £10,000 of the King's money to the marriage of his daughter' (Lady Drake). Now, by an official inquiry into the condition of his affairs, the baselessness of these fabrications was once more demonstrated.<sup>1</sup>

On December 15, Pym was buried with much state and magnificence in Westminster Abbey, at the entrance of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

The body, followed by his two sons,<sup>2</sup> Alexander and Charles Pym, was carried from Derby House to Westminster Abbey on the shoulders of the ten chief gentlemen of the House of Commons in the deepest mourning—Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Sir Henry Vane (the younger), Oliver St. John, William Strode, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Nevil Pole, Sir John Wray, and Mr. Knightley; and was accompanied by both Houses of Lords and Commons in Parliament all in mourning, by the assembly of divines, by many other gentlemen of quality, and with two heralds of armes before the corpse bearing his crest.<sup>3</sup>

The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Stephen Marshall, who took for his text the words of Micah, 'Woe is me! for the

<sup>1</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident from this that John, eldest son of John Pym, died in his father's lifetime, as his name is not recorded in the family pedigree at Brymore. Our only knowledge of him is that he matriculated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, on June 13, 1623, aged 14. The *Commons' Journals* and the *Perfect Diurnall* state that Pym left five children, two sons and three daughters. We have been able to trace the third daughter, Catherine Pym, who was buried in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in 1649.

<sup>3</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, Dec. 18, 1643.



good man hath perished out of the earth.' In his very interesting discourse, Dr. Marshall tells us of Pym's

clear understanding, his quick apprehension and singular dexterity in the despatch of public business ; his other moral eminences, in his justice, patience, temperance, &c., his extreme humanity, affability, courtesy, cheerfulness of spirit in every condition, and, as a just reward and sweet fruit of all these, the high and dear esteem which he had purchased in the hearts of all men of every rank who were acquainted with him ; such only excepted of whom to be loved and well reported is scarce compatible with true virtue.

In this sermon Pym's three most remarkable qualities are very especially dwelt on :

first, his singleness of heart so that no by-respect could in any whit sway him ; no private ends of his own or family were in any degree regarded, but himself and his were wholly swallowed up in his care of the public safety. . . . Secondly, such constancy and resolution that no fear of danger or hope of reward could at any time so much as unsettle him . . . nor could the offers of the greatest promotions which England could afford be any block in his way. Thirdly, his unweariableness . . . his ceaseless endeavours to be in some way helpful towards the public good, burning out his candle to give light to others. Who knows not this to be true who knew this man's conversation ? Not only since the time of this Parliament, but for many years together hath he been a great pillar to uphold our sinking frame ; a master workman labouring to repair our ruinous house, and under the weight of this work hath the Lord permitted this rare workman to be overthrown.

For weeks after Pym's death, his loss was bewailed both in prose and verse in the various pamphlets of the day. Perhaps the choicest of the elegies written upon him is the following, which appeared, edged with a deep mourning border, in a December number of *Mercurius Britannicus*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 78.

## AN ELEGY ON MASTER PYM

No immature, no sullen fate  
 Did his immortal soul translate ;  
 He passed gravely hence, even  
 Kept his old pace from Earth to Heaven ;  
 He had a soule did alwayes stand  
 Open for business like his hande.  
 He took in so much, I could call  
 Him more than individuall ;  
 And so much business waited by,  
 Would scarcely give him leave to die.  
 He knew the bounds of every thing  
 Betwixt the people and the King.  
 He could the just proportion draw  
 Betwixt Prerogative and Law ;  
 He lived a Patriot here so late,  
 He knew each syllable of State,  
 That had our Charters all been gone,  
 In him we had them every one.  
 He durst be good and at that time  
 When innocence was half a crime.  
 He had seen death before he went,  
 Once had it in a token sent ; <sup>1</sup>  
 He surfeited on State affairs,  
 Di'd on a pluresie of caires,  
 Nor doth he now his mourners lacke,  
 We have few soules but goe in black,  
 And for his sake have now put on  
 A solemn Meditation.  
 Tears are too narrow drops for him  
 And private sighs too strait for Pym ;  
 None can completely Pym lament,  
 But something like a Parliament.  
 The public sorrow of a State  
 Is but a grief commensurate.  
 We must enacted passions have  
 And Lawes for weeping at his grave.

<sup>1</sup> On one occasion in the House of Commons a packet was delivered to Pym ; it contained the dressing of a plague sore, with the following letter : ' Mr. Pym, doe not think that a guard of men can protect you if you persist in your traitorous courses and wicked designs. I have sent a paper messenger to you and if this

A monument, which was voted by the House of Commons to be erected to Pym's memory, was never put up, owing probably to the financial difficulties of the times, but the stone which covered his remains is still *in situ*. It now marks an empty grave, for at the Restoration the patriot's body was disinterred by order of Charles II, and buried in the churchyard, no one knows exactly where. Pym's dust may rest peacefully amongst the undistinguished dead; his noblest memorial, our constitutional freedom, saved by him and others like him, must endure as long as we are worthy to be called a nation, and with this assurance he himself would have been well content.

Others took up his labours, for no one is indispensable, the greatest are only irreplaceable; but although the life or death of one individual cannot stop the progress of a nation, either may make a vast difference in the methods that are chosen. Had Pym lived and remained at the head of affairs, he would never have consented to any compromise which would have left the national liberties at the mercy of the King's good will and pleasure, yet we are persuaded that Charles would not have died upon the scaffold. Pym's loyalty<sup>1</sup> and resourcefulness would have devised some other means of rendering the King innocuous, or of binding him with ties stronger than his own oft-broken word. We are equally persuaded that the extravagances and tyranny of the Presbyterians would not have been permitted to reach the height they did. That Pym was bent on abolishing the temporal jurisdiction of the Bishops is not surprising, considering how intolerably they had misused their power; yet even

does not touch your heart a dagger shall, so soon as I am recovered of my plague sore. In the meantime you may be forborne because no better man be endangered for you. Repent, traitor.' The writer apparently kept his word, for not very long afterwards a person somewhat resembling Pym was stabbed in Westminster Hall by an assassin who escaped.

<sup>1</sup> See his Vindication, Foster's *Life of Pym*, p. 405.



Clarendon admits that ' he was not of those furious resolutions against the Church as the other leading men were,' and that he always professed ' to be very intire to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.'

Speculation as to what might have been is useless ; yet sometimes we cannot help wondering if either the Church of England or the King would have profited by being deprived, the one of a few years' persecution from which she emerged purified, elevated, and more beloved than ever ; the other of the only great occasion in his career of which he made the best possible use.

Such reflexions, however, lead far away from the subject of this book ; we must not wander farther, but rather ask pardon for our long digression from the straight path of family history. In excuse for all that has been said of Pym, we may plead that, although his relationship to the Drakes was but for one generation (because Dorothea had no children), yet to have ' lived near the rose ' is a privilege worthy of being chronicled ; and surely the example and the immense personal influence of a statesman whose ascendancy over the whole nation was so remarkable that his enemies called him ' King Pym,' must have been potent, even after his death, in shaping the lives of those most nearly connected with him.

### CHAPTER III

EARLY in the year 1644, when the relief of Plymouth enabled Sir Francis to be for a short time absent from his regiment, he came to London, and on February 27 he and Charles Pym together put their names to the Solemn League and Covenant.<sup>1</sup> As members of the Church of England, although but moderate Episcopalians, it must have been extremely distasteful to them to do so, but the duty was compulsory on all officers in the service of the Parliament. They had delayed longer than most, and probably never would have signed but for the strong conviction that only with the assistance of the Scots, who would help on no other terms than the establishment of Presbyterianism, could the nation be saved from the indefinite continuance of civil war. There being no option but between evils, it is always permissible to choose the least, and doubtless the words added to the oath at the instance of Sir Harry Vane, 'so far as we do or shall in our conscience conceive the same to be according to the Word of God,' made it possible for Sir Francis and Charles Pym, as well as for many others who disliked the Covenant, to take it without feeling that they were perjuring themselves by their mental reservations.

The position was a painful one. A decision could not have been arrived at without sacrifice, but there are critical moments in most men's lives, when, if they are to be of

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 33 (8).

service to their generation, they must choose a side and act loyally with it, although at all points it does not square with their own opinions.

The duty of being useful to his country had been instilled into Sir Francis from his earliest years. Had it been otherwise, seeing everywhere around him the abomination of desolation caused by civil war, he might have felt inclined to give up his own small part in the struggle for constitutional liberty and accept the special Royal pardon offered to him in the beginning of March 1644. That such a pardon was made out is known; a draft of it exists in the Docquet Book.<sup>1</sup> It is equally certain that the favour was declined. The draft states that the pardon was 'procured by Mr. Secretary Nicholas'; at whose instance is not mentioned, but we are probably correct in believing that Sir George Chudleigh petitioned for it, when, at about this time, he made his own peace with the Court. He was greatly attached to his nephew, Sir Francis, and doubtless hoped to draw him with himself out of a contest which he now regarded as ruinous to all parties alike.

When Sir George had been accused by Lord Stamford of abetting the desertion of his son, in burning indignation at the charge, he had insisted on resigning the Governorship of Plymouth, together with his commission as General of the Horse; and from that time, although he continued to serve the Parliament, it was rather in civil than in military affairs. As months wore on and the end of hostilities seemed no nearer, a great disgust at the horrors of war implanted itself in Sir George's mind. Whilst Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Nicholas Slanning had been at the head of the Royalists in the West, some degree of humanity and honesty towards non-combatants had been observed, but from the time that Prince Maurice came into the county this was changed. The

<sup>1</sup> At the Record Office.



unrepressed licentiousness of his soldiers was notorious, they pillaged friend and foe alike and devastated the country wherever they came. Saddened at the loss of his eldest son whilst at variance with himself, weary of strife and sick at heart at all the ruin he saw around him, Sir George resolved to sheathe his sword and let others fight it out if they must. But, ever honourable in all he did, he gave due notice of his intention, in a declaration which he caused to be printed.

Petitions of Right (he says) are commendable. Remonstrances not unlawful, but Armes though defensive seem doubtful. My lot fell to be cast on the Parliament side by a strong opinion I had of the goodness of their cause, and the loyal service I should do his Majesty in defending that his High Court from the manifold enemies that then to my judgment appeared against it. Religion and the subject's lawful rights seemed in danger, and the general interest called for the common care to preserve it, but I believe it hath gone too far; nor can the losse of Christian subjects nor the losse of their estates by plunder and assessments consist with Piety nor yet with Property. As for religion, his Majesty whom God long preserve, hath given us unquestionable security; I have cast myself at my Sovereign's feet and implored his gracious pardon; I will contend no more in Words or Deeds. And this my resolution with the indisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and countrymen, that they may understand my sitting down to proceed from no compulsion, but the necessity I conceive there is of ceasing this destructive warre, unless we would become the wilful authors of the calamities we would decline. This may suffice for this time; making my prayer according to my hope for a speedy peace. But if this warre shall continue (which God forbid) I may happily take up some further determination.

It is significant of the respect in which Sir George was held that when this declaration appeared, disappointing as it was to his former friends, the Parliamentary pamphlets did not attack him with acrimony. They remonstrated more in sorrow than in anger.

What (says a judicious and well-affected Patriot), will you do no more for your King ? nor your Country ? Will so active and so wise a man as yourself be a spectator of your Country's Tragedy, and neither speak a word to preserve it, nor do a good deed to revive it ? . . . It seemeth that you resolve to be but a neuter at best . . . I must needs say that you are the intricatest man that I ever read, but I guess at your meaning, you will be a looker on, and at last determine like a door on its hinges to turn either way. So you think in your judgment that a neuter will be entertained at your pleasure of either party ? I have spoken my thoughts and so leave you to your own conceits and fortunes.

Poor Sir George was not long in discovering that during civil war benevolent neutrality is the most impossible of positions. Before the summer was over, the whole of Devonshire, with the exception of Plymouth, was in the hands of the Royalists, and soon afterwards his own house at Ashton was garrisoned for the King.

On the departure of Prince Maurice from before Plymouth, the blockade had been committed to Colonel Digby, who, towards the end of March, received some reinforcements. At about the same time he was severely wounded in the eye, and then the command of the besieging forces was bestowed upon Sir Richard Grenville.

We have lost sight of this unprincipled personage for some time, but our readers will remember that, in 1632, after his wife obtained a divorce from him, he endeavoured to possess himself of her estate and that, failing in this, and having in the interval endured some months of imprisonment for a debt owing to the Earl of Suffolk, he escaped abroad and took service under Gustavus Adolphus. At the end of about seven years Sir Richard returned to this country with good experience as a soldier, and was shortly afterwards appointed to a command in Ireland, where he remained till the autumn of 1643. He was then recalled by order of the King, in consequence of his insubordination to the Marquis of Ormond.

It chanced that when Sir Richard landed at Liverpool his horses were seized for the service of the Parliament, and he was himself carried to London. But as he gave repeated assurances of his fidelity, the House directed that he should be brought before them, that he should be thanked for his good services in the Protestant cause, and have his horses restored to him. Whereupon Sir Richard openly and of his own free accord, 'as a testimony of his real affection to the Parliament, made a serious protestation that he would never take up arms again but for the Parliament, and dye in their defence with the last drop of his blood.'<sup>1</sup>

He might possibly have been faithful to his oath if he had seen any prospect of obtaining the one thing on which his heart was set—the possession of his wife's estates. But finding that his illegal desires were not likely to be gratified, he began to think of a change of sides, and to plot how he might reap the richest advantage therefrom. For the time being, he pretended much zeal for the national cause, accepted a commission as Major-General of Horse, and was entrusted by Sir William Waller with the secret of a design for surprising the Cavalier garrison at Basing House. Sir Richard agreed to assist in this enterprise, and accordingly on Saturday, March 23, 1644, he set out from London with his troops, ostensibly to take up the position assigned to him by Sir William Waller. His departure was arranged in very fine style; he travelled in a carriage drawn by six magnificent horses, and in front of him a great red silk flag was borne, on which was depicted a map of England, to typify 'Bleeding England.' The remainder of the story is very briefly told in the *Weekly Account* of Tuesday, March 26.

Sir Richard Grenville, in whose fidelity and experience the Parliament reposed great confidence, hath ungratefully betrayed that trust, and having received about two thousand

<sup>1</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 16, 1643.



pounds for the recruiting of his regiment, he removed on Saturday to Windsor ; thence with about twenty-five horse he stole away on Sunday towards Oxford, and like Judas he carried the bag with him.'

Changes of side were not uncommon at the commencement of the Civil War ; some gentlemen, indeed, swayed by political motives, changed more than once, but they did not act as spies or steal money. Sir Richard stands out as a rare instance of that kind of baseness. Although he was in disgrace with the King for his unruly behaviour in Ireland, strange to say, this piece of villainy restored him to his master's good opinion ; and as his intelligence was the means of saving Basing House, he was rewarded, not as spies and traitors usually are, with money and contempt, but by the King's personal favour and a grant of all his wife's Devonshire estates, upon the pretext that her continued residence in London made her a rebel, although she had resided there without offence for several years before the war.

Having got his price, Sir Richard did not linger many days at Oxford, but immediately came down to the West and, with the assistance of Colonel Digby, took possession of Fitzford.

Parliament proclaimed him a traitor and ordered him to be hanged in effigy, as an earnest of what was to come if he ever fell into their hands. Thenceforth his name was always on the list of those excluded from office of pardon, and the newspapers of the day, to distinguish him from any other person of the name, usually styled him 'Skellum Grenville,' predicting 'that when the terrors of death shall seize upon his body, his affrighted soul will be shaken and the Devil raise an earthquake in his conscience.' Nothing, however, could be more unlikely, for by the constitution of his nature, Sir Richard really seems to have possessed no conscience. He had scarcely arrived in Devonshire, when he began to manifest

the atrocious cruelty of his disposition. Clarendon tells us that

one day he made a visit from this house, which he called his own, to the Colonel,<sup>1</sup> and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the Garrison in their usual excursions might meet with him. In his return he saw four or five fellows coming out of a Neighbour Wood, with burdens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the Garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest, which to save his own life he was contented to do: so strong his Appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

A week or two later, upon a sally made by the Plymouth horse and foot from the town, Colonel Digby was wounded by a rapier in the eye; and then, with the consent of the King, the command of the besieging force was given to Sir Richard Grenville. Now at last he was in a position to gratify the greed and malice of his heart. He hanged his wife's steward, whose only fault was faithfulness to her interest, and took possession of all her lands.

On April 24 we hear that 'Skellum Grenville hath seized on the Lord Bedford's estate; that the said renegado builds very much at Fitzford, and boasts that he little doubts of having Plymouth speedily.' We are not told when he first entered upon Buckland Abbey, but probably it was much about the same time.

As the spring advanced, the Royalist forces again drew near to Plymouth. The blockade by sea was never effective, but on the land sides the town was closely surrounded. During the months of April, May, and June, Sir Richard tried several times to enter the city by assault; the garrison also made occasional sorties in the hopes of driving him away. In

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Digby.

one of these sallies, about the middle of June, the Plymouth Horse fell upon the enemy's quarter at Newbridge on the Tamar, between Tavistock and Callington, took from them near fifty horse and slew their commander, Colonel John Arundel of Trecice. The letter which describes this affair mentions another circumstance which is not fully explained.

It would seem, though the writer does not say so, that Major Thomas Drake had been sent on some duty away from Plymouth, and that upon his return he brought with him to serve as captain under himself his cousin, Christopher Chudleigh, one of Sir George's younger sons,

upon whose approach the garrison began to mutter and to show some discontent that such a person should be employed upon any office of trust; backsliding and revolting having been so hereditary in that family, especially in betraying their own Country; which he [Christopher Chudleigh] perceiving, presently seduced his Major, who combining together to end the controversie and prevent further dispute, both Major and Captain within the day after their landing betook themselves to the Cornish chaftes.

From the Royalist quarters at Plympton the pair rode away to Oxford, with the intention of making their personal submission to the King. Thence the impetuous Thomas Drake 'sent rayling and disparaging letters back against Religion and the Parliament.' News of his defection quickly spread, and the rumour got abroad that it was Sir Francis who had changed sides. On June 22, Colonel Digby wrote hopefully from Exeter to Sir Ralph Sydenham, that he 'hears Sir Francis Drake and another have come in to the King, and that the King is at Oxford.'

Charles, however, was not there, for towards the end of May, when the armies of both Waller and Essex were approaching, it would have been fatal for him to risk being shut up in a town which was not even victualled for a month. On June 3, by a clever manœuvre, he slipped away with a small body

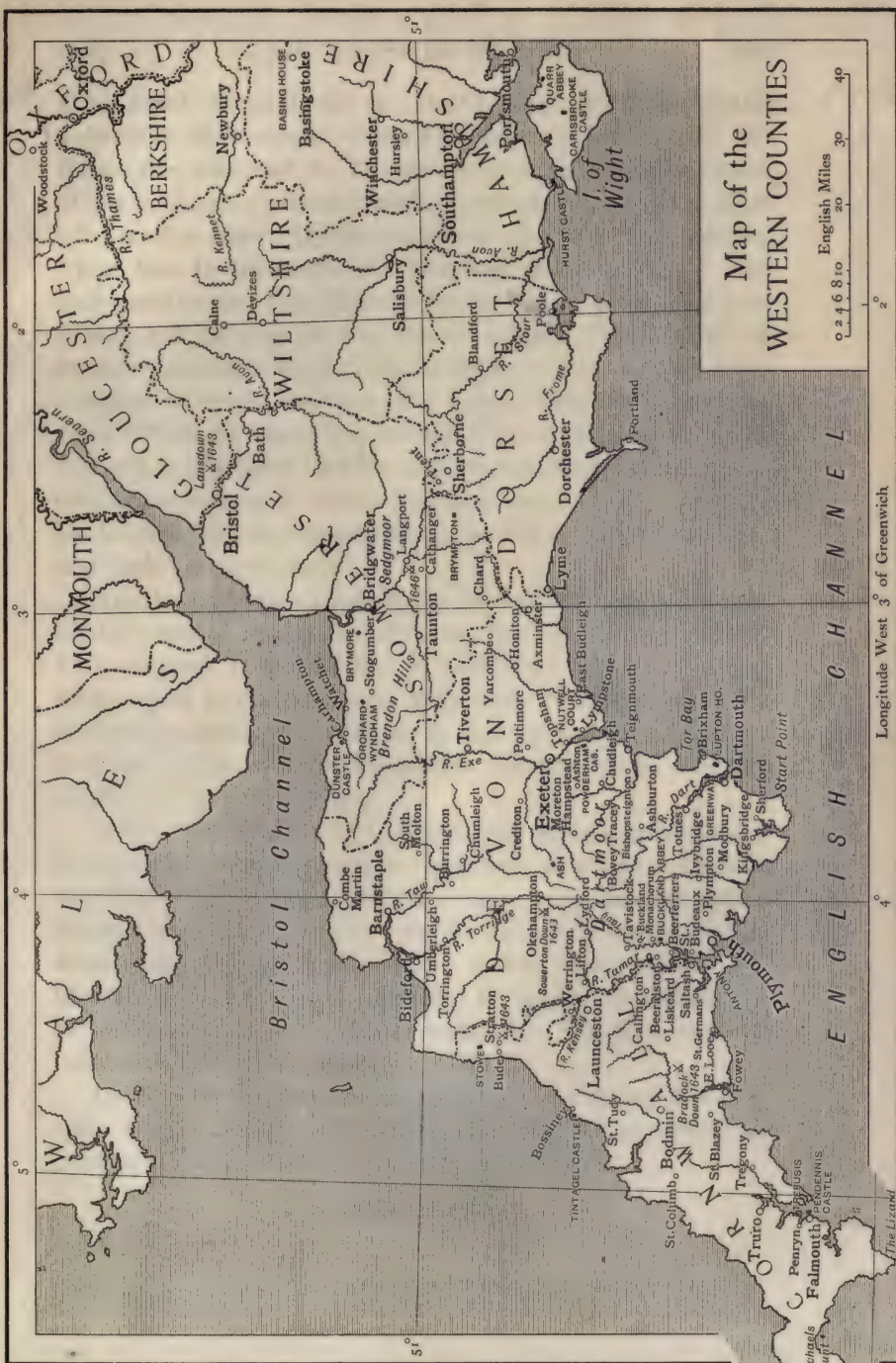


of men and got out of reach of the Parliamentary Generals. Essex made the great mistake of giving up the pursuit and of marching west to the relief of Lyme, when Charles, having only Waller to deal with, dexterously eluded the latter and got back to Woodstock. Here he was joined by his reserve, and with it pushed on quickly to Buckingham, followed by Waller. The two armies met at Banbury, on June 28, at the battle of Cropedy Bridge, when Charles gained a very decided advantage.

In the midst of such strenuous work for his own safety it is not in the least probable that the King could have attended to such small matters as the pardon of individual rebels of no great consequence, nor, indeed, is it probable that they came into the King's quarters at all. What became of Christopher Chudleigh we know not, but within a very few days of Thomas Drake's arrival at Oxford his passion cooled down, and he began to understand how false was the position in which he had placed himself. It is needless to say that he could have received no encouragement from his relations. Without doubt, they were united in entreating him to come back at once and, by giving himself up to the authorities he had defied, make the best of an unfortunate business.

Accordingly, Thomas Drake returned immediately to Devonshire, but was taken by the Parliamentary forces before he reached Plymouth, 'when,' says the writer who treats of this matter, 'he pretended that he was a little lunatick or half mad (and I believe him) when first he run from Plymouth to the enemy at Plympton and thence to Oxford.' The Governor, however, required 'a more satisfactory response,' and sent the culprit up to Westminster, to answer there for his offences against the State. The House referred the matter to the Committee for Plymouth, who on July 16 delivered the prisoner into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Thomas Drake had good friends; his uncle, William Strode, may have pleaded for him, his own services and those



Map of the  
WESTERN COUNTIES

English Miles  
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30 40





of his family certainly did so ; the Governor of Plymouth also appears to have written to the Committee in his favour. No doubt, too, many of the Committee had personal experience of the intolerable irritation and annoyance caused to the chief officers of garrisons by the suspicious, factious little people, whom Mrs. Hutchinson styles 'worsted stocking men.' And so it came to pass that Thomas Drake's great offence was condoned, and on July 26 the House ordered 'That upon the humble petition of Major Thomas Drake now in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and upon the Report from the Committee of the West, to whom the consideration of this business was referred, it is ordered that the said Thomas Drake be forthwith discharged from any further restraint, but he is not to depart the town without first acquainting the Committee of the West, and their leave obtained.' <sup>1</sup>

For the next three years we do not meet with Major Thomas Drake's name ; we cannot suppose that he was reinstated in his command, and, therefore, it is unlikely that he took any further part in the defence of Plymouth, or that he was with his brother during the military operations in Devonshire and Cornwall which were the immediate outcome of the Royalist victory at Cropedy Bridge.

Waller's army was now so thoroughly demoralised that the King, having nothing more to fear from it, resolved that he would go into the West, unite his forces with those of Prince Maurice, follow Essex to Devonshire and on to Cornwall, and attack the Parliamentary army in the rear ; when, confronted by Sir Richard Grenville, it might be crushed as between an upper and a nether millstone. The plan was well contrived, and it succeeded perfectly.

On July 27 Charles arrived at Exeter ; he stayed there for a few days, merely to refresh his army, and then continued his pursuit of Essex, who was not much in advance.

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journals.*

On the 27th, Essex crossed the Tamar, and Sir Richard Grenville, as arranged, retreated before him into Cornwall. Plymouth, being thus freed from investment, was able to send out three thousand horse with the Parliamentary army. The names of the regiments are not recorded, but we can have little doubt that the Plymouth Horse, with Sir Francis at their head, was one. Essex fell into the trap prepared for him. He was surrounded at Liskeard, and only saved himself from capture by escaping down the river in a small boat from Fowey. His cavalry, under cover of darkness, broke through the enemy's lines and retreated safely to Plymouth, but the artillery and the foot were obliged to surrender to the King.

On September 5, having now cleared Cornwall of the Parliamentary forces, Charles marched back to Tavistock, sending Sir Richard Grenville before him to block up Plymouth afresh. A few days later the King came there himself, hoping to capture the town, which it was thought probable he might do. Colonel Kerr, however, declined to surrender, and as nothing more could be effected then, the King re-committed the siege of Plymouth to Sir Richard Grenville and marched away into Somersetshire.

Sir Richard had not done very much towards reducing Plymouth, but he had seconded his master ably in Cornwall, and now he received his reward.

Before the King left the country he granted to Sir Richard Grenville all the Estate of the Earl of Bedford in Devonshire, and all the Estate of Sir Francis Drake; by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter while he blocked up Plymouth, and Werrington by Launceston in Devon, and the Lord Robarts, his Estate in Cornwall, all of which he enjoyed by the Sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For besides that he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution, whereby the tenants

very willingly paid their full rents, he kept very much stock all about the houses in his own hands, which he stocked with such cattle as he took from the Delinquents; for that he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet was he in truth himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had neglected or disobeyed any of his warrants . . . he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock to redeem their persons. For the better disposing them thereunto he would now and then hang a constable or some other poor fellow for those faults for which an hundred were as guilty, and if out of terror of this kind of Justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their Stock which was from that time quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater stock of cattle of all sorts upon his grounds than any person whatsoever in the West of England. Besides this he seized upon the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion: by these and such like means . . . he received great sums of money and had as great store of good household stuff as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own.<sup>1</sup>

No doubt, Sir Richard felt very much at home when he first took possession of the Abbey, as the place had once belonged to his grandfather; and perhaps it was fortunate that it fell into his hands, for, in the expectation of enjoying the estate in perpetuity, he protected the tenants from robbery and spoliation by the troops. Throughout the autumn and winter he remained at Buckland, prosecuting the siege of Plymouth less actively than he might, and spending the county assessment as though it had been his private income. Clarendon tells us that when the cold weather came, under pretext of requiring huts for his soldiers, Sir Richard obtained 1000 deal boards from the Royalist Commissioners of Devon, and employed them all in building a great riding house at Buckland for his own pleasure. In January 1645, he twice assaulted

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon.



Plymouth ineffectually. In February he was for a short time absent—probably at Exeter for a meeting with Goring—but this gave no relief to the beleaguered garrison.

We thought (says a letter of March 27) that the country should have been a little eased when Grenville drew off and marched from before Plymouth, but they do not find it so now, for we hear that he is again come back from Exeter to his seat at Buckland, formerly Sir Francis Drake's house about eight miles from Plymouth; and all this while he hath left a party to block up Plymouth in three places, to keep out provisions from our garrison. Grenville is daily pressing and sweeping the country before him, and where he finds old men and women and others that cannot serve in the Wars, he plunders them of all that he can discover that they have; he drove the country people on Dartmoor as if they had been sheep before him, beating some of them so sorely that they will never be their own men again; but amongst the rest one testimony of his bloody and barbarous cruelty and atrocity is very remarkable, for a poor old man that lived near Shepstor in Devonshire about three miles from Buckland, who had his man pressed from him long before, when Grenville's officers came to him for more money than he could get to pay them, because he had it not for them, they plundered him of all that they could carry away, and when he came to make his moane to Grenville he had no help but cross answers, threatening to hang him if he would not hold his tongue; but the poore man being undone, still made his moane (though to little purpose) whereupon one of Grenville's officers said he was never a friend to them, and did believe that he held correspondence with the enemy (meaning Plymouth), whereupon Grenville commanded him to be carried to prison to be tried by a Council of Warre. Then the poor man cryed out, 'Oh' (saith he) 'for God's sake have pity of a poor old man,' and when Grenville heard him say this, he cryed out, 'He is a Roundheaded Rogue, hang him up!' which accordingly was put in execution.<sup>1</sup>

Early in April a more humane commander took Sir Richard's place. When he was called into Somersetshire to

<sup>1</sup> *Exact Journal*, March 27, 1645, E. 276.

prosecute the siege of Taunton, Sir John Berkeley continued the blockade of Plymouth. We need not weary the reader by very closely following the history of this long-drawn-out siege, the more so because it is evident that Sir Francis was not all the time there. In the previous December the Plymouth Horse had contrived to slip out of the town in small parties, and having got well together, joined General Holborn's forces in Somersetshire, where they harassed the Cavalier garrison at Bridgwater and assisted General Holborn in throwing relief into Taunton, then surrounded by the Royalists.

About this time we first begin to hear of petitions being presented to the House of Commons by divers gentlemen of the West, of whom Sir Francis was evidently one, complaining that for their 'good and real affection to the Parliament they had been banished from their habitations in their counties, and were now brought into great extremities.'<sup>1</sup> They asked that 'in regard of their present necessity, some consideration might be had to furnish them with expedient lodgings and other necessities for their present support.' A committee for the petitioners' relief was appointed to examine into the matters. 'It were but reasonable (says *Mercurius Britannicus*) that we should provide for them.' Reasonable or not, however, where the payment of money was in question, the House of Commons was exasperatingly dilatory.

Dorothea Drake was, owing to the war, for some time without a home of her own, but her presence must have been a solace to her relations at Whittlesford, where, just a year after her father's death, she had the additional grief of losing her favourite sister, Phillippa.

The parish registers record the burial of Mrs. Symons on Christmas Day, 1644. There was nothing incongruous then in the choice of such a day for the most sorrowful of gatherings, nothing to clash with the sense of mourning and desolation; for,

<sup>1</sup> *Parliament Scout*, Dec. 26, 1644; also January 8, 1645.

in their Presbyterian zeal, the House of Commons—advised by the Assembly of Divines—had forbidden Christmas observances as tending towards superstition. Probably but few of those who loved Phillippa saw her committed to her last resting-place. Alexander Pym was (presumably) with the Parliamentary army under Essex, and Charles, who had lately become a captain of dragoons in the army of the Eastern Associated Counties, must then have been in Yorkshire.

Whilst these things were befalling certain members of the family, the Dowager Lady Drake and her daughters appear to have been residing in London, partly, maybe, with the object of forwarding the business of the frequent petitions in which she prudently brought her monetary difficulties, and those of her son, under the notice of the Parliament. Sir Francis's ruin involved hers, for now that the Drake estates were in possession of Sir Richard Grenville, her dowry had disappeared, and as Mr. Trefusis's lands had also been seized by the Royalists, she and her family may well have been in real distress.

After one or two reminders from the Lords to the Commons and *vice versâ*, it was resolved in both Houses, on May 14, 1645,

that upon information given by some members that the Lady Joane Drake and Sir Francis were in very great want, and that their estates had been totally ruined for their affections to the Parliament, it is therefore ordered that £200 shall be charged upon Haberdasher's Hall and forthwith paid to the Lady Joane Drake and Sir Francis, to each of them £100 for their present support.

In addition to this, on July 31, the Commons ordered 'that Lady Drake and Sir Francis shall each of them respectively have £4 a week for their present maintenance, from the Committee sitting at Haberdasher's Hall.' Three months later, Lady Joane's case was again reconsidered, when it was ordered 'that the £4 a week formerly appointed to be paid to



her should be increased to £6 weekly, and that it should be paid to John Trefusis Esq. for the present maintenance of himself, of her, and of both their children and families.' Mr. Trefusis's services and sacrifices received still further recognition in the autumn, when he was appointed Vice-Admiral of Cornwall; an office which was purely judicial and administrative and involved no sea-going, the chief duties thereof being to defend the coast against pirates, to see that the Government was not defrauded when prizes were brought in, and generally to conduct the local business of the Admiralty Court.

It is evident from the above orders that Parliament was anxious to compensate its followers for their heavy losses; and, all things considered, the allowances were not illiberal. We have before us a list of prices paid for various provisions in January 1645—war prices, be it remembered—when, with the exception of bread, which was a penny a pound, everything was about a fourth to a fifth of its present cost. Beef was  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ , butter  $4d.$  a lb., beer  $4d.$  a gallon. Travelling was perhaps relatively more expensive than it is now, but servants' wages and house rent were incomparably less, so that we may reasonably calculate that an income of £4 a week supplied as many comforts as £700 a year does at present.

Claimants for the assistance of Parliament were numerous. In June 1645, many of its own members were in such distress through the loss of their estates that 'they could not without supplies attend the service of the House,' and it was then ordered that each of the impoverished members should have £4 a week for his relief, to be paid out of the revenues of the King, Queen and Prince, which were in the hands of the Parliament.

On the lists of persons in receipt of these pensions we find the names of Charles Pym, Sir John Northcote, Sir Edmund Fowell, Sir Samuel Rolle, Anthony Nicholl (Pym's cousin, who

also got a berth as 'Paymaster of Messengers of Intelligence under the Notion of Posts'), Mr. Francis Buller, Sir John Young, and many other well-known West-country men. But there is one name missing which we might well have expected to find there. We allude to William Strode, who appears at this time to have been in most embarrassed circumstances. The income of his lands in Devonshire and elsewhere would have been sufficient to maintain him very comfortably, had these not been in the power of the enemy; yet he chose to be indebted to the kindly assistance of his friend, Sir Edward Barkham, rather than accept anything from the public purse. His case was really a hard one, as Parliament had a while before voted him the sum of £5,000, in consideration of his long suffering and imprisonment at the close of Charles's third Parliament. The vote was two or three times renewed in favour of himself, of Mr. Valentine and others, but owing to the financial difficulties of the nation, payment was perpetually deferred; and William Strode was probably too genuinely disinterested to press for it. The last time anything was heard of the matter was two years after his death, when the £5,000 was ordered to be allowed 'amongst his poor kindred,' but whether it was received even then is uncertain. Perhaps one reason why he took his pecuniary difficulties calmly may have been that he did not expect to be dependent upon his friends for long. In June 1644 he made a will providing for the settlement of all his debts, but did not sign the document till July 22 in the following year, when, in all probability, he was suffering from the commencement of the typhoid fever which soon afterwards prostrated him.

William Strode, 'the Parliament Driver,' as his contemporaries styled him, departed this life in his lodgings at Westminster, on September 8, 1645, aged fifty-one years. Two days later, the Commons 'being informed that that worthy member and faithful, religious and unwearied Patriot, Mr.

Strowd (one of the five members) was dead, ordered that his corpse should be interred in the Abbey of Westminster neere the body of Mr. Pym deceased, and that the whole House should accompany his corpse to the grave, when notice should be given thereof.' He was accordingly buried on Monday, September 15, at the entrance of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

The funeral sermon preached upon this occasion was delivered by Mr. Gaspar Hickes, who tells us at the outset that he 'first enjoyed the sweet company of the deceased gentleman in the family of Sir Edward Barkham, where he likewise had found safe and quiet harbour after many wanderings and sorrows in the common storm.' He had been greatly helped and refreshed, he says, by the wisdom and goodness of Mr. William Strode,

a person worthy of the highest honour, whose memory should be blessed and his name dear, so long as the name of Parliament shall be dear to England. He served his own generation (the preacher continues), and this shall be the sum of all I shall say, seeing he was a very serviceable piece, a precious useful soul profitable to his generation, and in his service were many noteworthy remarkable excellencies. . . . He was none of those that peep now and then into the House to inquire What news? That sit there sometimes for recreation, that are present mainly to help a friend or promote an interest, but he set his heart and shoulders to the work and stretched all his sinews about it. You know the solid vehementcy, the piercing acuteness of his speeches . . . his unbiassed, unblemished integrity which could never be confuted, . . . his insuperable constancy, his tedious heavy sufferings. He was not moved by menaces or reproaches in hardship. He counted not his contentments, his estate, his life dear unto him that he might do his work and accomplish the ministry and service which he received of God. Witness his long imprisonment, and that in the prime of his time when the strength and delights of youth might have made him do much for freedom. In those dangerous forlorne times, like another Curtius, he cast himself *in hiatum*—into



the gulf; the jaws of extreme peril, for his country's good. Witness the accusation of late cast upon him of the highest crime. 'Twas his singular serviceableness that caused him to be one of the first marked for destruction. He served not himself, in all that he intended or did for the public I could never observe, (and it was my happiness to converse constantly with him) I could never observe anything of self before his eyes either for the present or in expectation. A great and useful hand he had in procuring treasure, the sinews of warre, yet I dare affirm in spite of malice and calumny, that none of it stuck to his fingers. Very scrupulous he was in receiving, nay, resolute in refusing the expressions of common men's courtesies from any, especially if there were the least appearance of a hook in the bait. He grasped no offices, accepted not maintenance from the public in the usual way; though he had lost or spent all his private estate, he rather cast himself on beholdenness to friends, which was averse to his most generous spirit. So the Lord provided for his subsistence, and he enjoyed it with all heartiness and respects. He was courteous and useful to his friends, yea, ready useful to all that came within his reach in a way of justice. He served his own generation; the Commonwealth was to him instead of wife or children . . . the main duty of his life and action was the glory of God in serving the public. Well, this serviceable man is come to the period of his generation, he is fallen on sleep. Will you, can you hear anything of his death? . . . His disease was an epidemical fever which after some collucations seized upon his principles and spirit, before impaired and much exhausted by sufferings and service. 'Twas not the plague then, as many report, neither did he fall into a raging distemper (as some give out), which might have been feared in such a disease, and in him who was of a constitution somewhat hot, and of a vigorous stirring spirit. Some clouds indeed were cast upon his faculties by the violence of the disease, yet was his demeanour and dissolution quiet, and though the nature of his sickness hindered his expressions, yet I doubt not his Master found him watching because he found him doing.

The foregoing extracts from Mr. Gaspar Hicckes's little known sermon give us a fuller and probably a much juster idea of William Strode's character than we can gather from the

prejudiced pages of Clarendon. The latter, however, is likely to have been correct in believing that of the five members Strode was the most bitterly opposed to the King's notions of prerogative. It is only natural that he should have been so. Eleven years of tyrannical illegal imprisonment would have quickened anyone's perceptions on this point ! Yet although William Strode's convictions were unshaken, time and misfortunes may have softened the somewhat fierce vehemence of his temper, whilst they left his warmth of heart untouched. His generous, grateful disposition manifests itself in the will he made. As far as means permitted, he remembered everyone who had been good to him. Lady Barkham was to have a ring worth twenty pounds, and everything of his in her house. His brother, John Strode, and his many nephews and nieces received legacies varying from £20 to £100. Nothing at all was bequeathed to Sir George or to Christopher Chudleigh, whose ways, no doubt, had been a sorrow to him, but his sister Mary, Lady Chudleigh, was to have £50, and her daughters, his nieces, £20 a year each. Lady Joan Drake was remembered with a piece of plate worth £10. Sir Francis 'and his wife, my niece Dorothy,' received £50 between them. Sir Edward Barkham's son, Ned, was to have a horse. Servants and the poor were not forgotten. All these legacies were to be paid by the executor within two years 'or at the end of the wars in England.' The bulk of the landed estates was bequeathed unconditionally to Sir Edward Barkham, and he—perhaps expecting a dispute with John Strode—proved his friend's will before the funeral, with an almost indecent rapidity : he did not, however, take possession of the High House at Meavy. This house and the adjacent lands were sold to Sir John Maynard, from whose heirs, about seventy years later, they were purchased by William Strode's great-nephew, Sir Francis Drake of Buckland (third baronet), whose descendants still enjoy them.

## CHAPTER IV

THE long-continued effort of the Royalists to capture the stubbornly defended city of Plymouth, without effectively investing it by sea as well as by land, was from the first a most unpromising undertaking. Month after month, under one commander or another, the blockade was continued. But, as ships could almost always contrive to slip in or out of harbour, the town was never without supplies, nor was regular communication with the authorities in London interrupted. The Plymouth regiment, not being wanted in its own county, remained at Taunton with General Holborne until March 11, 1645, when, in preparation for the second siege by Goring, the heroic governor, Blake, was, owing to scarcity of victuals, compelled to lessen his garrison. Holborne and the troops with him then managed to get safely away to Devizes, where they joined the army of the West under the command of Waller and Cromwell.

The organisation of the Parliamentary forces was at this time undergoing a complete change. The 'New Model' began to take the field in April. It was to be a national army paid by the Parliament, and was intended to supersede the old system of locally raised forces, which, depending for their support upon the activity of county committees, were often mutinous for want of pay, and always disinclined to be far removed from their own districts.

Almost the whole of Essex's army was simultaneously



disbanded and then re-embodied, but the Plymouth Horse, although distinctly a local regiment, was not immediately dealt with. It was attached to General Massie's brigade and served with Fairfax's New Model during his campaign in the West.<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not the Plymouth men took part in the second relief of Taunton, which was effected on May 11, it is impossible to say, but there can be no doubt that Sir Francis and his regiment were present at the battle of Langport on July 10, when Fairfax broke up Goring's army, and cleared the way for the siege of Bridgwater.

This place was regarded by the Royalists as one of their strongest fortresses ; the Prince of Wales and his Council had stayed there in the spring, and it had been sufficiently provisioned to withstand a long blockade. After spending about a week in getting possession of part of the town, Fairfax resolved to storm the Castle. The Governor's beautiful wife, Christabella Wyndham, who had fired the first cannon from the Castle with so accurate an aim that she narrowly missed killing Cromwell, at whose side the ball fell, was permitted with other ladies to come out before the assault began, and on the following day, July 23, the garrison capitulated.

Young Sir Hugh Wyndham, the Governor's son (we shall meet him again in the course of this family history), was sent into Fairfax's camp as one of the hostages for the due performance of the conditions of surrender. Colonel Wyndham and other prisoners of note were despatched to London, and affairs at Bridgwater being thus settled, Fairfax next turned his attention to Sherborne Castle. Bath was easily taken on his way there, and Sherborne was captured on August 15. Bristol, the King's most important stronghold in the West, was defended by Prince Rupert ; yet, by September 11, that place also was in the hands of the victorious Fairfax, who,

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journals*, Jan. 13, 1645-6. A full list of the troops serving in General Massie's brigade.

having thus fully secured the line of communication behind him, was now at liberty to march into Devonshire.

On the approach of General Massie's brigade, which was sent on to Tiverton in advance, Goring abandoned what remained of the army he commanded, and retired into France. Tiverton Castle was taken on October 19, and a few days later Fairfax was disposing his forces around Exeter.

Preparatory to a siege in form, and in order to shorten the town of provisions, small garrisons were, one by one, placed in houses that commanded the main roads. Great Fulford, Cannonteign, Nutwell Court, Peamore, and other mansions were thus occupied. The well-disciplined New Model troops which replaced Goring's men at Poltimore must have been joyfully received by its Parliamentary owner, who, whilst his house was in possession of the Royalists, had taken refuge at Trill. Powderham Castle still held out for the King, but some of Fairfax's soldiers garrisoned the church for about ten days, being provisioned meanwhile from Nutwell Court, which at that time belonged to Amias Prideaux.

During the months of October and November, such excessively wet weather prevailed that the Devonshire roads, always notoriously bad, were impassable for artillery. This circumstance, combined with an epidemic of fever which caused great mortality amongst the troops quartered about Crediton, temporarily checked Fairfax's advance; but smart skirmishes with the enemy were of frequent occurrence. 'Every day,' says 'An Exact Journal,' 'brings some tydings of one succeſse or other of our forces, and whilst they [the Royalists] are in their counsailes, they hear of another defeat given to them by a party of Sir Francis Drake's regiment; who, on the 18th of December, in the morning, did very early fall upon a new quarter of the enemy's horse and take two captains, two cornets, eleven horse and sixty common soldiers.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 314.

Quite at the end of December, after some fighting (we note it rather sorrowfully for Sir George Chudleigh's sake), Ashton Place was taken, and on January 1 the news-writers report that 'Sir George Chudleigh has surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and is come in to the Parliament.'

Poor Sir George had been so hopeful, so honest in his conviction that by abandoning the national party he was really promoting law and order, that it must have been intensely bitter to him to face the sad truth that the Royal cause was hopeless whilst Charles remained at its head. There can be little doubt that Sir George Chudleigh was one of the loyal gentlemen of the West who were becoming desperate at the King's obstinacy in neglecting to make a treaty with the Parliament whilst there was still something to save. They loved monarchy and detested innovations in religion, yet even submission to the dourest forms of Protestantism was preferable to an endless vista of anarchy and desolation. In August they had prepared a petition to the Prince of Wales, entreating him to intervene between the King and the Parliament, and to come to terms with the latter himself if his father failed to do so. But the Prince's Council had contrived to suppress the petition, partly on account of its impropriety, chiefly because, if any good had come of it, the gentlemen of Devon would have had the credit and not themselves.

In every department of the King's service a self-seeking spirit prevailed; the personal jealousies of his councillors, the quarrels, insubordination, and outrageous conduct of some of his generals were more injurious to him than lost battles.

Goring indulged in prolonged debauches, and for some time before his final departure scarcely noticed any orders he received. 'Sir Richard Grenville was no less troublesome and inconvenient.' In November, instead of remaining at Okehampton to prevent communications between Fairfax and the garrison at Plymouth, as he had been desired to do, he



withdrew to his house at Werrington, and in furtherance of personal schemes of his own, encamped his regiments on the banks of the Tamar. Here, in defiance of the Council, he remained until Christmas, when he joined the Prince of Wales, who then returned from Truro to Tavistock, intending to collect the Royal forces at Totnes, preparatory to attempting the relief of Exeter. In their disorganised condition the plan had no chance of success, and it was also too late.

At the commencement of the new year, with colder weather the health of Fairfax's troops improved, snow fell heavily, the roads hardened, and on January 8 the Parliamentary army began to move forward. On the night of the 9th, Cromwell surprised Lord Wentworth's brigade at Bovey Tracy, took from him more than four hundred horse, and threw the remainder, with Wentworth himself, into such a panic that they fled in disorder to Tavistock.<sup>1</sup> Upon this reverse the Prince of Wales immediately retreated to Launceston, issuing orders to General Digby to abandon the blockade of Plymouth and join him with all his forces in Cornwall. Fairfax and Cromwell meanwhile pressed on to Ashburton, whence the former sent a brigade in the direction of Tavistock, whilst he and Cromwell with the body of the army marched to Totnes.

Intelligence of these movements soon reached the few remaining Royalists in the forts around Plymouth, who, believing that the whole Parliamentary force was at hand, immediately forsook their works and fled to Launceston.

And (we learn from a contemporary pamphlet) much it joyed the garrison of Plymouth to see so full a deliverance come so soon and so unexpectedly and that in the depth of Snow and dead of Winter; whereas according to ordinary

<sup>1</sup> The remounts were valuable, but as the Parliament had neglected to send any winter clothing for the army, the men were still more rejoiced at taking a large number of cloaks, some of them 'scarlet, excellent good ones.'

reason there could in such a time be no relief expected. But the garrison of Plymouth . . . was still active, so our renowned General Sir Thomas Fairfax with his most loyal and active forces would lose no time or opportunity, but took all occasions of the enemy's fears and flights, and following them close made them quit Sir Francis Drake's house [Buckland Abbey] which they had made a strong garrison, and our men took possession of it, and then Sir Thomas commanded a considerable army to march on to Dartmouth.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever else Sir Richard Grenville neglected, he had not omitted to leave a strong garrison at Buckland, well prepared for determined resistance ; and, indeed, behind the shelter of the Abbey's old loopholed walls, with plenty of powder and shot, the Royalists could, and probably did, make hot work for their assailants ; but there was no time to linger ; on January 12 the house was stormed, and in it 200 arms and 100 prisoners were taken.

Evidences of that day's work are still visible on the south side of the Abbey, the tracery of three windows being of distinctly later date than the others ; and this is probably the side where the attack was the hottest, as it is immediately commanded by much higher ground. Sir Francis could not have been present at the assault on his own house, seeing that the Plymouth Regiment was then posted in North Devon, in order to prevent the Royalists of Barnstaple from attempting the relief of Exeter whilst Fairfax was besieging Dartmouth.

The loss of this seaport, which surrendered on January 16, was fatal to the Royalists in the West. It was here they received their ammunition from abroad, and here, too, the foreign troops the King expected were to have landed. The possession of Dartmouth, therefore, was of all the more importance to the Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 348, 'The Burning Bush not consumed.'

We must look back (says the *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* of Tuesday, January 20) to some passages that did much forward the taking of this town. A party of Sir Francis Drake's regiment, a Phenix sprung out of the ashes of that myrrour of his time, old Sir Francis Drake, and as zealous a lover of his Nation, who pursues the steps of honour by Land as his predecessor did by Sea; this party of horse commanded by Colonel Chaffin . . . near Barnstaple took 30 horse, 2 Colonels, 1 Captain, 26 troopers with much baggage, without the loss of a single man; this so alarmed Barnstaple that they were possessed with fear that more forces were coming to storm them suddenly, which caused some of the enemy's forces from about Dartmouth to draw off to the security of that town.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of the month, when Fairfax in person resumed the siege of Exeter, we find that Sir Francis and his regiment were guarding the passes on the Taw, checking the return of the Cavaliers into Devonshire by the north of the county. The *Moderate Messenger's* news from the West tells us that 'on Saturday the 24th of January, Sir Francis Drake sent out three companies of the Plymouth forces, who fell on the enemy's quarter at Burrington neere the Tamar,<sup>2</sup> where they had made a kind of fort or passe at the Bridge and about sixty set to keep the passe. We fell upon them and took forty horse, a major, a captain and divers prisoners, and took the Bridge with their arms and all that was therein.'

Another somewhat similar encounter which happened on February 2 or 3 is mentioned in the letter of a New Model officer, addressed to a friend in London. The writer gives a curious description of the state of the country around Exeter.

Sir,—I found the West country indeed craggy, and the people and entertainment for the most part crabbed, yet I thank God, what is to be had, we have the best in our quarters; being content with the enemy's leavings, who hath left very

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, E. 320, 5. Burrington is in the north of Devon about five miles from Chumleigh and a mile and a half from the river Taw. There is no such place on or near the Tamar.



little provision for man or beast in these parts : For Intelligence, at present what we have is that we are settled in our quarters about Exeter. Colonel Harloes Regiment, about Exminster, three companies of Colonel Herbert's Regiment are at Peamore,<sup>1</sup> and in the lanes that are between that and Exminster are horse sentinels : Another quarter is at Shellingford House . . . a fourth at Bouvy in Mrs. Peter's house ; the other forces . . . are about Alphington and other places a mile from Exeter and some at Barley within musket shot. The General hath sent to all the hundreds about here for ladders and we hope to be in Exeter yet before the first of March. . . . Our men have this day finished the bridge by Apsom<sup>2</sup> so that now we may have a free intercourse ; the ladders come in this afternoon apace. I pray you commend me to all our Friends ; tell them I am (thanks be to God) in health, and want only two things respecting my inward and outward condition ; the one, a Preacher like Mr. Stirry,<sup>3</sup> the other a cup of London Beer. There is a scarcity of the former here, and the latter not to be had, only a little sowre Syder. If ever I return to London again, I shall (through the Grace of God) indeavour to have a higher esteem of those precious opportunities which are there . . . . This afternoon Lieutenant General Cromwell went out to view our quarters before Exeter. We have four companies of foot in the Major's house at Barley, which is within less than a Musket shot of the enemy's works ; they daily shoot into the house, and we against them, they can also talk one to another, they call our men Roundheaded Rogues, our men return them answer. We make it a garrison for the present. Our souldiers are very cheerful and desire nothing so much as to storm the City. The enemy come in to us daily from the City, but their spirits are so daunted that they dare not come out against us. . . . The Plymouth regiment last night took a Major and twenty Horse from the enemy near Barnstaple. . . . A Council of War sate this last night. The General, Lieut: General, Officers and souldiers, have great inclinations to storm, though the City be very strong, a Line about it with Barracades and a strong wall.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed Reymouth for Peamore.

<sup>2</sup> Topsham.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sterry was Oliver Cromwell's chaplain during the Commonwealth.

<sup>4</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 332, 3.

Whilst the Parliamentary army was thus encircling Exeter and improving in discipline day by day, the King's forces in the West were in an incoherent, almost paralysed condition, owing to the jealousies and quarrels of the superior officers. In the hope of remedying these distractions, the Prince's Council appointed Lord Hopton General-in-Chief, and as Sir Richard Grenville refused to take orders from him, the Council, wearied at last out of all patience with his insubordination, deprived him of his command and ordered his imprisonment in Launceston Castle, whence, for better security, he was shortly afterwards removed to St. Michael's Mount.

Lord Hopton being now supreme, in undivided command, mustered all that remained of the King's forces and marched to Torrington, looking for an opportunity to fall upon Fairfax unawares, whilst he was encompassing Exeter. But the latter, well informed of his opponent's movements, ordered the immediate advance of a strong body of horse, including the Plymouth Regiment, to prevent the garrison of Barnstaple from co-operating with Hopton, and on February 14, leaving part of the Parliamentary army to continue the blockade of Exeter, Fairfax himself proceeded with the remainder to North Devon. Two days later, he took Torrington by storm and utterly routed the Cavaliers, who retreated rapidly to Stratton and thence to Bodmin, followed by the Parliamentarians.

The General's Excellency (says a weekly newspaper) marched on the 25th from Torrington to Holsworthy; and that the way might be cleared before him he sent Colonel Butler (that was too hard for the Turkes) Sir Francis Drake with their regiments of horse, and some of Colonel Okeyes Dragoons before, towards Stratton, where was Major-General Web with 500 [Royalist] horse to make the passe upon the River and raise the country upon Alarm. The General's horse fell suddenly upon them . . . took 260 horse, 30

men, 50 killed in the fight; the whole were disperst and fled to Bodmin. The General, the 26th, marched to a general Rendezvous near the river Tamar and from thence to Tamer-ton, from whence the Prince's forces were but a few hours before gone, having drawn up their bridge; but that was made passable suddenly and the river being made fordable, horses and foot went over. There were seven or eight countrymen who told the General to go back or they would shoot him, for they were commanded to do so upon pain of death; but being told that if they did shoot they should be killed, they ran away. The General being over, had notice of what his party of horse had done and that the party they had beat was a commanded party of the choicest of the Prince's army. They speak very much of our fair carriage and admire it, and as bad of Goring's Horse. Our's keep punctually to the General's proclamation.<sup>1</sup>

This 'fair carriage' of the New Model army, which robbed no man and paid honestly for all it consumed, did more than any other circumstance to conciliate the Cornishmen. Weary of war, utterly disgusted by the oppressions of Goring and Grenville, and, above all, dreading the arrival in their county of the French and Irish auxiliaries promised by the Queen and by Lord Glamorgan, Cornishmen of all classes came in daily in greater and greater numbers to the Parliament. As Fairfax advanced he met with but feeble opposition. Skirmishes and small encounters, such as one which occurred on March 11, when a troop of the Plymouth Horse under the command of Lieutenant Somaster, routed a body of Royalists at St. Columb, were frequent, but Hopton's disorganised army was fast falling to pieces.<sup>2</sup> On March 14 it surrendered to Fairfax and was a week later disarmed and disbanded.

The Prince of Wales had escaped to the Scilly Isles on the 9th, and in all Cornwall where the King had been so strong, there now remained to him only the two fortresses of St. Michael's Mount and Pendennis Castle. Leaving these to be

<sup>1</sup> *The Moderate Intelligencer*, Feb. 26, 1645-6. E. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Somaster MSS.



starved into submission, Fairfax, on March 21, set out from Truro for Plymouth. The Plymouth Regiment under Sir Francis Drake marched to Bodmin, and the rest of the army to Launceston.<sup>1</sup>

Ten days later we find Fairfax again before Exeter, and Sir Francis in Somersetshire.

From the West (says a Parliamentary newspaper) letters speak that his Excellency is returned from Cornwall to Exeter and that upon the 31st of March our army faced the City, while the General and some of his officers rode around to view it. The General, taking his quarters at a house called Columb John, resolved to send a summons to Sir John Berkeley, the Governor of the City, and sent order to Commissary General Ireton, then at Chard, to march with three regiments of horses, namely, his own, Colonel Fitzjames's, Sir Francis Drake's and some dragoons, eastward to prevent the enemy about Oxford from increasing, disturbing the Country, or our seige at Banbury.<sup>2</sup>

From this time the Plymouth Regiment did no more service in its own county. There was, in fact, little further need for cavalry either in Devonshire or Cornwall, since, with the exception of Pendennis Castle, the surrender of the few strong places in the West still in possession of the Royalists was merely a question of days. On April 9 Sir John Berkeley capitulated upon honourable terms. On the 20th of the month, Barnstaple submitted to Fairfax, and Dunster Castle to Blake; whilst St. Michael's Mount, which contained a prisoner long 'wanted' by the Parliament, was given up to General Holborne on the 15th, but not until the Governor had permitted Sir Richard Grenville to escape to France.

Sir Richard deserved no mercy, neither did he expect to find any at Westminster. Warned, maybe, by the fate of the two Hothams, he deemed it prudent to reside abroad for the

<sup>1</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, March 21, 1645-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly Account*, April 3, 1646. E. 330.

remainder of his days, and thus he has no future place in our story. Yet before we part from him altogether, having said so much of his cruelty and covetousness, it is but fair to add that, on his removal, officers and men who had served under him resented being transferred to the brigades of other commanders. We may conclude, then, that in spite of many detestable vices and an extraordinary lack of principle, Sir Richard possessed some soldierly qualities which under happier influences might have given another colour to his character. His temporary occupation of Buckland can only have been regarded by the Drakes as an intolerable intrusion, and yet in reality it may have been immensely to their advantage ; for once in possession of the Abbey Sir Richard was powerful enough to hold it undisturbedly until the end came. A single assault did mischief enough, two or three might have demolished all that it is now so interesting to possess.

But to return to the spring of 1646 : the triumph of the Parliamentary forces on the West placed Sir Francis in a somewhat peculiar position. At the request of the House of Commons, he had in the previous September been appointed High Sheriff of Devonshire. The office was a merely nominal one as long as the Royalists governed the county, but by their submission it had now become effective, and, according to the law in force in those days, a high sheriff might not absent himself from his county during the year of his shrievalty. Yet, at the same time, duty required that Sir Francis should be present with his regiment wherever it was ordered to go. It is abundantly proved, however, from the memoirs of gentlemen similarly circumstanced, that active military service had precedence of civil functions. Sir Francis, at any rate, took no steps to reconcile his conflicting obligations until the month of May, when, desiring to come to London on business concerning his estate, he sought and obtained from both Houses leave to go out of his county ‘ so often as his Employment or

his own Occasions should necessarily require.’<sup>1</sup> He need scarcely now have hesitated to leave his regiment temporarily to the care of the second in command, for the Civil War was looked upon as almost at an end. The King was in the hands of the Scots, Banbury Castle had already submitted, and the surrender of Oxford was known to be imminent.

About midsummer, an opportunity for which Sir Francis had long waited presented itself. He did not let it slip. On June 20 he was returned as one of the members of Parliament for the borough of Beeralston,<sup>2</sup> in the room of his uncle, William Strode. Although the writ to fill up the vacancy had been issued in February, it had been permitted to remain dormant until now, possibly because, owing to the disturbed times, the returning officer—the portreeve—had not been duly chosen, or perhaps—for it was a close borough—because Sir Francis could not earlier present himself to the burgesses, as custom and the words of the writ required that the candidate should do on the day of his election. Thenceforth we may conclude that he was frequently in London, and that after his long separation from his wife, he and Dorothea were now happily re-united.

At no period in English history have men of sound common sense whose circumstances enabled them to see both sides of a question been more valuable in the House. It would be tedious and beyond the scope of this book to give a detailed account of the origin and position of the two great parties, Presbyterians and Independents, into which the Parliament was then nearly equally divided; yet, without

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, May 15, 1646. *Lords' Journals*, May 16, 1646.

<sup>2</sup> Beeralston was not a borough by prescription; it did not send members to Parliament until the 27th Elizabeth. The returning officer, the Portreeve, was chosen annually at the court of the lord of the manor, by the freeholders who were the electors. In ancient days there was a market there, but the place can never have been more than a poor little village, consisting only of a few cob cottages and a chapel. In course of time the chapel (without which it could not have been made a borough) was turned into a poor-house, and, becoming ruinous, was pulled down in the last century.



some reference to such matters, the lives of individual members can hardly be understood.

At the commencement of the Civil War, although Puritanism had taken a firm hold of the nation, the country gentry and the great mass of the people still adhered to the Church of England. Unchanged as were the doctrines of the latter, its practice since the death of Queen Elizabeth had become strongly tinged with Calvinism, and, just as the Genevan gown was preferred to the surplice, so the sermon was regarded as the most important part of the service. Excepting in cathedrals, and in the churches of out-of-the-way parishes scarcely reached by the ebb and flow of religious changes, the position of the altar was usually in the centre of the sacred edifice, and there communicants stood or knelt around it, as they pleased, to receive the Holy Sacrament. 'Pews,' said Bishop Corbet, when addressing his clergy in 1639, 'are become tabernacles with rings and curtains to them, there wants nothing but beds to hear the Word of God on.'

Unseemly as all this was, it was not intentionally irreverent. In the seventeenth century even more than now, earnestness in religious matters characterised the nation, and if many excellent people had become indifferent to dignity of ritual, it was in some measure the fault of the Bishops, who, in their anxiety to enforce it, had exercised the exorbitant powers they then possessed without charity or wisdom. They encouraged the King in his monstrous doctrine of Divine Right; that his people were his own to do with as he pleased, being without any rights except such as he might choose to grant to them; and Charles, in return, upheld the Bishops' decisions in the ecclesiastical courts, where, in order to compel the adoption of their views, mere expressions of adverse opinion were punished by the infliction of cruel civil penalties—fines, imprisonment, and mutilation. Thus, hundreds were driven from the Church of England, and, under the always

stimulating influence of persecution, dissent had increased enormously.

Now, if a man holds heterodox opinions, he is usually content with his own quiet enjoyment of the same, but in those days, when it was penal to differ from the established church, no inventor of strange doctrines could refrain from ventilating his ideas and endeavouring to collect a following. Never were there so many active sects in England as at the time of the Civil War, each noisily shouting that it alone knew the true way of salvation. More than half of these people were socially harmless, mere quibblers over old vexed questions of Predestination, Grace, and Original Sin ; but others enjoined practices subversive of the very foundations of society. A curious tract, published in 1644,<sup>1</sup> 'A relation of several Heresies,' describes about twenty of the erroneous beliefs then prevalent, being evidently those which the writer himself considered to be the most pernicious : Jesuits ; Arminians, who held that 'in this life there could be no certainty of immutable election unto glory, and that none are condemned for Original Sin' ; Adamites, who called the place of their meeting Paradise, and deemed clothes to be a sign of slavery ; Libertines, who held that the Law was not a rule of life, that the ten commandments need not be taught in the church, 'because they that are regenerated do that duty willingly as being led by the Spirit ; that good works cannot avail for conversion, nor evil works hinder ;' Anti-Scripturians, who held that right reason is the rule of life, 'for that the penmen of Scripture, every one writ as themselves conceived' ; Soul-Sleepers, who looked forward to annihilation ; Anabaptists, who held that it was unlawful to take up arms for civil liberties, denied baptism to infants because these were incapable of faith and repentance, and believed that the highest degree of both grace and glory is to be enjoyed in this life ; Expectants

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 358.

or Seekers, who held 'that there is no Church or Ministry in the world, it being the will of God that miracles should attend the Ministry as in primitive times'; Divorcers, 'that would put away their wives for small offences'; Pelagians, who denied the doctrine of Original Sin and believed that the children of the faithful, though unbaptised, enjoyed eternal life, but *not* in Heaven; Millenarians; Anti-Trinitarians; Anti-Sabbatarians, to whom all days of the week were alike; Sabbatarians, who taught that the Jewish Sabbath should be observed; Separatists, or Brownists, who held 'that the Church of England and the Ministry thereof was of the Devil, and that it was unlawful to hear any of them,' objected to pulpits, sand-glasses and gowns in churches, refused to name the days of the week, and would have had the magistrates kill all idolaters but spare thieves; Apostolicks, who believed that many latter-day Christians had more knowledge than the Apostles, and that the gift of miracles had not ceased; &c., &c.

Such a Babel of opinions was an abomination to the rigid Presbyterian party in Parliament, who were resolved to force their own methods of church government upon the nation and to suppress every other form of worship. Their opponents, the Independents, a very strong minority, as they had the army entirely on their side, differed individually on doctrinal points, but were united in demanding toleration for themselves, for the Church of England, and all respectable Protestant bodies.

This was the state of things in 1646, when Sir Francis entered Parliament, and being both a churchman and an officer, there can be no doubt on which side his sympathies lay. It had been an axiom since the days of Queen Elizabeth that none should suffer for their opinions; nevertheless, conformity in practice had not ceased to be demanded; the novel discovery, that men could serve their country equally



faithfully although they differed widely in doctrine and ritual, was due mainly to the example set to the whole nation by the New Model army. 'It is very observable,' says a contemporary pamphlet, 'to consider the love and unity there is among the souldiers, Présbytery and Independency making no breach nor obstructing anything in carrying out the work.'<sup>1</sup> All, therefore, who had served with the army were in favour of religious as well as of civil liberty, but the idea found no favour with the bigoted Presbyterian majority in the House; nor, perhaps, was public opinion ripe for such broad-minded measures.

What the people longed for most unanimously was peace and relief from the crushing financial burdens engendered by the war. What these burdens were it is impossible now to discover exactly, but it is certain that they were immensely heavy. Obviously, the quickest remedy for excessive taxation was to diminish expenses by disbanding the army, and this the Presbyterian party were willing to do, if only for the sake of freeing themselves from the domination of their adversaries in the House. But so long as the Scots were on English soil with the King in their power, Parliament could not safely dispense with the services of the 'New Model.' There was, however, one branch of the army, the Western Division, which the Independents had little objection to see disbanded; it did not belong to Fairfax's New Model, and its commander, General Massie, as a Presbyterian, was personally unpopular with them.

Owing to the depletion of the national exchequer, the regiments under Massie had received no pay for several weeks; the men had consequently been obliged to take up free quarters, and naturally some had committed disorders. It was therefore resolved, with the consent of the Independents, to make a beginning in the way of reduction by abolishing the

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 330, *Perfect Occurrences*, May 29, 1646.

Western Brigade; but, as it was well known that disbandment was very unwelcome to the regiments concerned, it was supposed that officers and men would readily accept an invitation to volunteer for service in Ireland, where troops were greatly needed.

The Lords demurred somewhat to the proposed course, but without waiting for their concurrence, Fairfax, accompanied by General Massie and the Parliamentary Commissioners, set out on October 20 for Malmesbury, intending to hold the rendezvous for disbandment there; finding, however, that the neighbourhood was insufficiently supplied with provisions, the Generals made choice of Devizes, where the next evening they arrived 'and his Excellency sent out to summon the forces. The first regiment designed to be disbanded was the Plymouth Regiment under the command of Colonel Sir Francis Drake, who, according to the summons, came that night to the rendezvous,' but it being then too late to do anything, the business was postponed till the following morning (Thursday, October 22), when General Massie first dismissed his own staff, and then 'the Plymouth Regiment being gone through, the rest willingly, [or] unwillingly complied.'<sup>1</sup>

The business (says the *Scottish Dove*) was by the wisdom and discretion of the Managers effected with much facility, though it seemed difficult at the beginning and was by many feared to be a great taske, but after his Excellency had addressed the several troops in the head of every regiment there appeared in all the Souldiers a very ready obedience to the order for disbanding, and they had everyone a passe to the place where they were to goe and their time limited; for that time to have free quarter. They received everyone six weeks pay according to his rank and had their horses to ride, and their arms to defend themselves and were offered a month's pay more if they would willingly and freely goe for Ireland, but not urged to do it; nor they freely accepting of it, they departed to their several places. Some that lived

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 358, *The Post*, October 21.

near were willing to have their horses and arms valued, and received the full value of them in money which they took as a favour, the rest, many of them being strangers, desired their horses rather than money, which was granted to them for their ease and honour as Souldiers.<sup>1</sup>

The successful completion of this delicate undertaking was no small relief to the Commissioners, Ludlow and Allein, who had feared something like a mutiny. They wrote that night jubilantly to Lenthal, that 'by the blessing of God they were waded through the depths and difficulties of that business,' but they were obliged to add that, though they had used all endeavours to engage officers and soldiers for the service of Ireland upon the conditions expressed in their instructions, 'they had found noe possibility of reducing them to that imployment.'<sup>2</sup>

Several years later, when treating in his Memoirs of these matters, Ludlow explained that the soldiers who had attempted to stir up disaffection did not properly belong to the Western Brigade, but were 'foreigners,'<sup>3</sup> by which he probably meant soldiers of fortune from the Netherlands armies, who, having no occupation to fall back on, naturally dreaded disbandment just as winter was approaching. 'Many of the brigade,' says Ludlow, 'were glad of the opportunity to return to their several callings, having taken up arms and hasarded their lives purely to serve the public ;'<sup>3</sup> which was eminently true of the Plymouth Regiment, the 'Civilities' of whose officers he especially mentions, although without recording their names.

We can imagine with what mingled feelings Sir Francis took his place for the last time at the head of his regiment. As 'a lover of his Nation' he could only have been deeply thankful that he might now honourably cease from fighting

<sup>1</sup> *King's Pamphlets*, E. 360, *Scottish Dove*, Oct. 28, 1646.

<sup>2</sup> *Tanner MSS.*, 59, p. 566.

<sup>3</sup> Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 78.



against his own countrymen ; glad, too, that at the closing scene in a moment of difficulty, his Devonshire men were selected to set a last example of good discipline to the whole brigade by their quiet obedience to the order for disbanding. Yet at the end it must have been with a pang that he parted from officers and soldiers who had cheerfully obeyed his commands and stood by him in many a deadly fight. . Some were his relations, others friends and neighbours, and it is not in the least likely that he encouraged any ‘ to goe for Ireland,’ where, being out of sight they would be also out of mind, and have but a poor chance of receiving any portion of the large arrears of pay still due to them at the time of their dismissal.

In Sir Francis’s case, retirement from the army implied a change of labours rather than increased leisure. As a member of Parliament, he could not absent himself from Westminster without the permission of the Speaker, but until the expiration of his shrievalty his presence was sometimes indispensable in his county, and he could make use of these opportunities to attend to the very necessary business of repairing his injured house and fortunes. Whether Werrington was habitable or not, we cannot tell, but Buckland Abbey could scarcely have been so, any more than Crapstone, his brother-in-law’s house, which, we know, had been pillaged. To make matters worse, the collection of rents from tenants whose cattle had been requisitioned, and whose lands for some years had been the battlefield of contending armies, was wellnigh impossible.

Privations, however, lose half their bitterness when they are shared more or less by all our friends and neighbours, and as it is to be presumed that Sir Francis was for several months in receipt of the £4 a week voted to him by the House, he was quite well off as compared to some. It was probably during his residence in London at this time that he and Dorothea

offered themselves the small luxury of having their portraits painted, half lengths to match, by the same artist.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Francis is depicted with dark eyes and complexion (resembling the Strodes, we think); he wears the armour of an officer of Cuirassiers<sup>2</sup> and shows a small lace collar at the throat. Passed over one shoulder, belt-wise, is a fourfold gold chain, and from his neck, suspended by a black ribbon, hangs an octagonal jewel or badge. This and the chain were, no doubt, presented to him in recognition of some signal military services, the record of which is, like the jewel, lost. Memoirs of the day frequently mention the bestowal of such decorations either by Parliament or by public bodies, just as in modern times a medal, a dress sword, or the freedom of a city in a gold box may be given.

Dorothea's portrait shows us a sweet-looking brunette, with hair dressed in the fashion of Queen Henrietta Maria: she wears a blue gown, softened by an embroidered scarf thrown carelessly over one shoulder; her pretty throat is encircled with a single row of very fine pearls. It is probable that the picture is a replica of one at Brymore, painted for her brother, Charles Pym. In features, dress, and position the two likenesses are identical, but there is a lifelike smile—yet not quite a smile—on the lips of the Brymore portrait, which the artist has not caught so happily a second time. His sitter grew weary, perhaps, as the work went on, and anxious, too, for although thus far the Parliament had triumphed, as month succeeded month, public affairs, upon which her husband's future and her own depended, seemed to be as far from settlement as ever.

<sup>1</sup> These pictures, which are in their original frames, remained at Buckland till about the year 1830, when Sir Trayton Drake removed Sir Francis's picture to Sheafhayne, and Dorothea's to Nutwell Court, where they have since been re-united.

<sup>2</sup> Cuirassiers were heavily weighted with armour. They wore casque for the head, cuirass and backpiece, pouldrons for the shoulders, gauntlets, taces, cuisses and greaves. Their arms were a sword and a pair of pistols twenty-six inches long.



DOROTHEA, LADY DRAKE  
(daughter of John Pym of Brymore)  
WIFE OF SECOND BARONET





The facility with which the Western Brigade was disbanded, notwithstanding all prognostications to the contrary, might have been less complete had its members—basing their expectations on past experience—foreseen how ill the promises made to them would be kept, and the delays that would occur before their arrears were likely to be paid. Commanding officers who were also members of Parliament, no doubt, fared the best, but it is probable that even they had to be satisfied with less than they could justly claim.

Early in January 1647 Sir Francis was in town, and intent on getting his accounts, as colonel of a regiment, stated and certified.<sup>1</sup> The matter seems to have dragged on until April, when, presumably, the large sum that must have been owing to him was paid. A month later the *Lords' Journals* report that Charles Pym received £987, in satisfaction of all pay and arrears due to him during his service as captain in the Parliamentary army. He and his brother-in-law appear to have been more fortunate than the majority of officers who had served in General Massie's brigade. In June we find a number of these gentlemen petitioning the House 'that they may receive the recompense promised them after all their sufferings;' they represent 'that in consequence of the large arrears owing to them, many are unable to pay their trifling debts, some are already arrested and the rest in danger of the same fate; they pray for an order for the release of those who are already in duress, and for the protection of the rest till their arrears are paid.'<sup>2</sup>

These miseries arose out of the system of deferred pay then in force. During the Civil War, owing to the poverty of the nation, each officer received only a part of what was due to him, the remainder being by agreement withheld until the end of the troubles; but, when this time drew near, every

<sup>1</sup> *Sta. Pap. Dom.*, Jan. 18, 1646-7. *Commons' Journals*, April 23, 1647.

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journals*, June 1647.

penny that the Parliament could collect was used for defraying the expenses of the Scots, to induce them to leave the kingdom, and the claims of the army were neglected. Nor was it dealt with more honestly when in January 1647 the Scots departed, leaving the King a prisoner in the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners.

The Presbyterian majority in the House now hoped to make their own terms with the King. If he would have promised to permanently establish their narrow religious system, to the exclusion of the Church of England and every other form of worship, and would have agreed to surrender the government of the militia to the Parliament, they would have voted for his return to power and would have let slide the liberties which the nation had so long and so persistently defended. That Charles, being in their hands, either would or could refuse to accede to these conditions, did not enter into their calculations. They announced that as soon as they had come to an understanding with the King, they would send part of the army to Ireland and would dismiss the remainder, without giving either arrears of pay or an indemnity for illegal acts unavoidably committed in a state of war.

Officers and soldiers of the New Model had left their homes and spilt their blood freely for the good of their country. For more than twelve months they had received no pay, yet, although the men were in distress, they had not committed disorders. Naturally they took alarm, yet they did not refuse to disband if such were the will of Parliament, only they petitioned that they might first receive security for their arrears, that they might be free from forced service in Ireland, that pensions should be granted to widows and wounded, and that an Indemnity Bill should be passed which would protect them individually from ruinous prosecutions.

Upon this, the fanatic knot of Presbyterians who led the House declared that the army was trying to subvert the



Government, and that the petitioners ought to be punished as mutineers. We all know how this ended, and how, after vainly trying to reason with these bigots, Cromwell sent Lieutenant Joyce to take the King out of the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners and bring him within reach of the army. This was done on June 4, and four days later Charles, at his own request, was removed to Newmarket. Fairfax and Cromwell, meanwhile, again laid the demands of the army before Parliament, and significantly brought their troops nearer and nearer to London.

The narrow-minded politicians at Westminster no longer dared to disregard the soldiers' petitions. They began nervously to consider the propositions submitted to them. These were the same as before, but with certain unwelcome additions, one of which was that eleven members of the House of Commons who had declared the military to be enemies of the State and worthy of death as mutineers, because they had petitioned for their just rights, should be expelled from the House. 'We are not,' the soldiers indignantly said, 'a mere mercenary army, hired to serve any arbitrary power, but called forth to the defence of our own and the people's just rights and liberties, and we took up arms in justice and conscience to these ends and so have continued.'

It was at this juncture that the following letter was written by Mrs. Mary Moore to her husband, Colonel John Moore, then commanding a regiment in Ireland. We do not reproduce the lady's spelling, for to decipher each word is no less than a conundrum.

Charing Cross, June 22nd.

My dear Love. I received your letter from Dublin and bless God you are safe gone over. I would not have you here again, for things are in the most saddest condition that ever mortals beheld. Every day we look for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, whether in love or with fear it is not known. The

army doth carry themselves so fair that they gain the hearts of all the counties, and they petition to Sir Thomas that he shall not lay down arms till all things be settled. The army doth accuse four of the Lords and eleven of the House of Commons. I will insert as many [names] as I can remember but I have found the note here inclosed I send you.<sup>1</sup> If you did but know how I am troubled with the times and your occasions, you would say it is God that persecuteth my wits. I have much to do to keep my goods, for the Parliament please the City hath passed the order that no Parliament man's goods nor lands shall be protected, and this week I intend to petition the House.<sup>2</sup> By the next I will send you more, for I dare not write much, the times are so dangerous. . . . The plague is very hot here, it is the next door but two to Sir Gregory Warren's over against us. The house is shut up. It is my Lady Drake's family, the old Lady. The King is at Newmarket; the army doth not much regard him, he is very stubborn to them. The Lord knows their intentions. The Cavaliers are very merry to see us contend, but I hope they will have no cause.

Writing again to her husband just a week later, Mary Moore says: 'We are here in less safety than you, for there you know your enemies and here you do not. The Lord in mercy look upon us, for the divisions of Reuben are great. The army is very big and the King is stubborn, the Parliament stand on their guard, we look every day for a siege but I hope God will protect his own.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names of these eleven members were: Denzil Hollis, Esq., Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Massie, Mr. Glynn, Recorder of London, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Moore, a member of Parliament, was, it seems, in debt, like other officers, because his arrears had not been paid. Mary Moore's petition is mentioned in the *Commons' Journals*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Irish Reports*, part iv. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the Lady Drake alluded to by Mary Moore was Sir Francis's mother or Ellen, widow of Sir John Drake of Ash. It may have been the latter, because, when her house was burnt down by the Royalists, Parliament had provided her with a furnished one in the Strand. On the other hand, the evident intention to show that Dorothea was not meant rather suggests that it was at her mother-in-law's house the case of plague had occurred.

The extremity of the danger to which London was exposed alarmed everyone, except the blind zealots at Westminster, whose selfish policy had led to the crisis.

At the beginning of the year the nation had been entirely at one with the Parliament in its desire to see the New Model regiments peaceably disbanded, but now, owing to the stupid bungling and sectarian injustice of the Presbyterian party, public opinion was swinging round to the side of the Independents. The Presbyterian majority, however, still imagined that they could carry things very nearly their own way. They would not expel the eleven members, still less would they consent to fix a date for dissolution with a view to the election of a fresh Parliament; and so little did they understand the determined temper of the army, that they quite believed an offer of eight weeks' pay, with the promise of an indemnity, would be sufficient to induce the soldiers to disband. It was not until June 28, on the receipt of a message from headquarters to the effect that, if the eleven were not immediately dismissed, the army would intervene directly, that the affrighted Houses, recognising their powerlessness, consented to treat with the officers, and the obnoxious members agreed to withdraw themselves voluntarily for six months. Had they done so all might have been well, but they went no farther than the City, where they stirred up the Londoners against the Independents and organised riotous mobs, which assembled at Westminster, burst into the House of Commons, and by threats of personal violence compelled the members to vote as they directed. Upon this, there being no more liberty of debate, the Speaker (Lenthal), accompanied by the Sergeant with the Mace and about a hundred of the less bigoted members, betook themselves to Fairfax's headquarters at Hounslow, craving the protection of the very regiments which ten days before they had been so desperately eager to disband.



The extreme Presbyterians left behind at Westminster soon fell into utter confusion. General Massie, one of the eleven members, whose intolerance had rendered him especially odious to the New Model regiments, thought to defy Fairfax's army by raising a force of Reformados<sup>1</sup> to defend London against attack; but, although the mayor and citizens were willing enough to persecute the Independents, they would not provide money to start a second civil war.<sup>2</sup>

So the 'eleven' took to flight, and on August 6 Fairfax marched his troops triumphantly to London, each man wearing a laurel leaf in his hat. The General reinstated the Speakers of both Houses, and then, proceeding to the City, was humbly welcomed by the mayor and alderman, who intimated that they were preparing a gold ewer and basin to present to him!

Where was Sir Francis during all these surprising changes of front? Strange to say, we have not the slightest information. His brother-in-law, Charles Pym, and all those with whom he usually acted had accompanied Lenthall to the army, but our Baronet was not with them; wherefore we are inclined to suppose that he had already gone out of town, perhaps owing to the occurrence of a case of plague in his mother's house. More probably, however, because, having himself been an officer quite recently, he sympathised with the demands of the soldiers, and yet at the same time felt that it would ill become him to vote for the expulsion from Parliament of General Massie, under whom he had formerly served, of his kinsman, Sir John Maynard, or of his very good friend and cousin, Anthony Nicholl,<sup>3</sup> three of the

<sup>1</sup> Officers and soldiers whose services had been dispensed with, but who had not given up the profession of arms, were styled Reformados.

<sup>2</sup> General Massie owed a grudge to Fairfax for supporting the disbandment of the Western Brigade, and he was not sorry that the New Model should be similarly dealt with.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Nicholl of Penrose, whose mother, Phillippa Rouse, was John Pym's half-sister, was Lady (Dorothea) Drake's first cousin and Sir Francis's second

impeached 'eleven.' About this date John Elford and many other members went into the country, and it is likely that Sir Francis adopted the same prudent course. Thus, whilst the laurel-bedecked soldiers were tramping through London, whilst the doors of 'th'ould Lady' Drake's house were padlocked and smeared with a red cross, Dorothea and her husband were probably enjoying the sweet fresh air of Buckland for the first time together for four sad years. They seem to have stayed at home till about the middle of October (as long as the hot weather and the plague in London lasted), when it appears that altogether two hundred and forty members were absent from Parliament, mostly without leave. The House then ordered a muster, threatening to fine the persistent holiday-makers to the extent of £20 each. Upon this, Sir Francis sent up an excuse, which was accepted. Shortly afterwards he must have been in his place again, as we find that, on November 19, permission was granted to him to go into the country again for yet another month.<sup>1</sup>

During the summer and autumn many things had happened. The brotherly love between Parliament and the army was not of long continuance. Each according to its lights tried honestly to make a treaty with the King which should restore peace and a settled government to the realm. Each party in turn thought it had almost succeeded, only to

cousin. He was an extreme Presbyterian, but not especially opposed to the maintenance of the army, and therefore not personally obnoxious to the officers. He obtained the Speaker's pass to go to his estate in Cornwall, but was arrested on his way thither and brought back on August 17 to Fairfax's headquarters at Kingston, where he was well treated. After two days' detention he was sent up to London with an accusation against him of high treason. His escape was connived at, and no further proceedings were taken against him. Eleven months later the impeached members were permitted to return to their places in Parliament. In 1648 Anthony Nicholl was made Master of the Armoury of the Tower, as a compensation for the place of Customer of Plymouth and ports of the county of Cornwall, 'an office of better value both for esteem and profit, of which he had been deprived for his fidelity to the Parliament.'

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, November 19, 1647.

find that Charles had been negotiating merely as a blind, whilst he was privately making arrangements with the Scots to invade England in his favour and again deluge the country with blood. At last, having by his intrigues and duplicity alienated the goodwill of all who could and would have usefully helped him, the infatuated King escaped on November 11, 1647, from Hampton Court Palace and betook himself to Carisbrook Castle, hoping that the Governor would allow him to slip away to France.

Hammond was half inclined to do so, but when he understood that the King would use his liberty to light the flames of civil war afresh, he kept his prisoner close.

Then followed a time perhaps the most harassing to live in of any modern period in English history. Innocent amusements were forbidden, taxation was enormous, there was no settled government and, worst of all, Parliament still persisted in sitting, although it no longer in any sense represented the will of the people. The nation was not eager for a policy of persecution, yet the dominant Presbyterian majority was only prevented from enforcing the most intolerant decrees by fear of the army; that, moreover, was mutinous, and on political matters divided against itself. Thus, for the unhappy country there seemed to be no refuge from anarchy except in a despotism of some kind, and in their longing for peace men's hearts began to turn again towards the throne.

At this crisis the King's intrigues bore fruit. The Scots invaded England and insurrections broke out in Wales, Kent, and other parts of the kingdom. To Charles, no doubt, it seemed the most natural thing in the world that his subjects should lay down their lives and ruin all who were most dear to them, in order that he might reign with undiminished prerogative, but those who had bled and suffered felt differently. The cruel, reckless renewal of hostilities, just when



a peaceful settlement seemed to be within measurable distance, thoroughly and finally convinced Fairfax and Cromwell of Charles's incurable ineptitude and insincerity. In the face of renewed danger, the officers closed their differences, unanimously agreeing at a solemn prayer-meeting, held at Windsor on May 1, 1648, before they marched to quell the insurrections,

That it was the duty of our day to go out and fight against those potent enemies which in that year in all places appeared against us, with a humble confidence in the name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them, also . . . that it was our duty if ever the Lord brought us back in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for all the blood he had shed, and the mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and the people of these poor Kingdoms.

It is needless here to give even the slightest sketch of the well-known events of the second Civil War, as none of the personages with whom we are most concerned took part in it, although, no doubt, they were prepared to do so in the event of their own counties revolting.

Towards the end of May, a small rising, which was easily suppressed, occurred near St. Tudy, in Cornwall. In Devonshire appearances were threatening, but there the ascendancy of Parliament was sufficiently well maintained to prevent an outbreak. At a time of such imminent danger, when members of the county committees had need to exercise especial vigilance, it is to be supposed that Sir Francis went down to his own place; and this is the more likely because some family matters then called for his presence near home. On May 9, his father's half-brother, Walter Elford, was buried at Shepstor Church, and at about the same time—we do not know the exact date—John Trefusis, Sir Francis's stepfather, died and was laid with his ancestors in the family vault at Mylor. It is pleasant to think that

after the wanderings and deprivations he had suffered during the Civil War, the concluding year of Mr. Trefusis's life was usefully and quietly spent in his own home. The last published notice of his services occurs in the 'Perfect Diurnal' of February 16, 1646-7, as follows :

This day was admitted to the House of Commons . . . that patriot of his country, Thomas Gewen,<sup>1</sup> Burgess for Launceston . . . who by his vigilancy and industry hath reduced the Cornish Cavalry into a very good obedience, having had the chair of the Committee of that County for four months together and hath now resigned the same for the completion of the said work, to John Trefusis Esqre., Vice-warden of the said County.

Mr. Trefusis's will was proved in London on June 24, 1648. His widow was, of course, entitled to her 'reasonable part'; it is, therefore, not surprising that her husband only especially bequeathed to her 'a diamond ring he had given her, and restored to her one she had given him which he always wore,' adding, that he desired his son John 'not to intermeddle with any monies appertaining to Lady Drake's dowry from Buckland.'

The second Civil War lasted five months. No sooner was the army gone forth to fight the Parliament's battles than the latter recalled the ten banished members (one had died in the interval), and at their instigation proceeded to pass a most barbarous ordinance, decreeing that everyone who resisted Presbyterianism—almost all the army, consequently—should be punished with death or imprisonment.

To the Presbyterian faction, all the liberties the nation had fought for seemed of minor consequence as compared with the possibility of establishing their own narrow inquisitorial form of religion, and, in the hope that the King might be persuaded to agree to their conditions as the price

<sup>1</sup> The former owner of Werrington, now described as of Bradninch.

of his restoration, they sent commissioners to Newport to negotiate a treaty<sup>1</sup> with him, on a basis which the leaders of the army, when they returned from crushing the insurrections, considered to be altogether inadequate to protect the nation from a renewal of tyranny. It was then that, for the sake of peace, Fairfax and Cromwell again made propositions to the King. Without insisting on any stipulations respecting religion, they offered to reseat him on the throne if he would consent to efficient constitutional checks. But Charles had no mind to be anything less than an absolute sovereign, and as he was, moreover, just then in expectation of foreign aid wherewith to stir up fresh strife, he refused these overtures as he had done those of the Houses. His mistake was fatal. From that time the army was united in the determination that he should not reign again; and, in order to deprive the Presbyterians of all further opportunities of making a treaty with him irrespective of the good of the realm, Fairfax marched his forces to London and sent a party of troops to the Isle of Wight, to carry Charles off to Hurst Castle, where he was securely shut up.

The Commons, aghast at their own powerlessness, would now have been willing to take the King back on almost any terms, so, rather than submit longer to the dictations of the officers, they voted on December 5 'that the King's propositions were a ground for the Settlement of the peace of the Kingdom.'

The reply of the army was prompt. Early on the morning of December 7, Colonel Pride, in command of a party of soldiers, stationed himself in the lobby of the House of Commons. As the members arrived and attempted to enter

<sup>1</sup> A letter in the Bodleian Library, catalogued as from Sir Francis Drake to Sir John Potts, one of the Commissioners at Newport, expresses a desire for the success of the treaty; we have not reproduced it because neither the writing, the spelling, nor the signature (F.D.) resemble those of Sir Francis, nor is the coat-of-arms on the seal his.



the House, forty were seized and imprisoned, whilst others were prevented coming in and turned back.

In the official lists of the imprisoned and excluded members, Charles Pym's name occurs amongst the latter, but neither Sir Francis Drake nor any of the well-known representatives for Devon are mentioned at all. Therefore, if these gentlemen were in their places on the 5th, they must have voted with the Independents against a treaty with the King, and we know by their subsequent exclusion from Parliament that such was not the case.

An explanation of this matter may be found, perhaps, in an entry of Whitelock's 'Memorials,' dated two days before Pride's Purge happened. 'Many members went into the Country, glad of an honest pretence to be excused from appearing in the House, because of the business of the army, the debates about which went extreme high.'

It is easy to understand that gentlemen who had taken an active part in the Civil War were very much of the opinion of Fairfax and Cromwell and the officers with whom they had served, that Charles was unfit to reign, and yet, at the same time, they believed no less strongly that to subject Parliament and the nation to the dictation of the military was an intolerable evil. Better the despotism of one man than the despotism of an army. Seeing, then, that for the time being there was but a choice of evils before them, many, including apparently all the leading Devonians, were content to leave town and escape from the necessity of voting at all. It so chanced that an 'honest pretence' for absence was afforded to the Devonshire gentlemen if they chose to use it, as, only a few days before the events just recorded, Sir John Bamfield, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Northcote, Sir John Young, Mr. Samuel Rolle, and several others were appointed to act as Commissioners for the settlement of the county militia. Our surmise may be correct or incorrect, but it is,

at least, remarkable that not one of those named on this Commission was affected by 'Pride's Purge.' Nevertheless, the events of this week brought Sir Francis's parliamentary career to a standstill; fortunately for him, perhaps, because thereby he was relieved from all responsibility in connexion with the trial of the King. Moreover, influenced, as we believe he always was, by the remembrance of his father-in-law's great reverence for the freedom and dignity of Parliaments, Sir Francis can have felt but little esteem for the conduct of the 'Rump,' which continued in session subject to the dictation of the army. A large number of members stayed away purposely from London during December and January, and when, after Charles had been illegally put to death, some of them were willing to return to their places in Parliament, the 'Rump' refused to re-admit them unless they signed a declaration approving of all that had been done about the King. Very few complied, and thus the number of members in actual session at Westminster was reduced to little over a hundred, only fifty or sixty of whom habitually attended.

## CHAPTER V

ON May 19, 1649, the Commonwealth was declared, and a day or two later the executive government was provided for, by the appointment of a Council of State selected from the members of the House of Commons.

Although deprived of the use of his seat in Parliament, Sir Francis was not unwilling to serve the Government. He acted on the various county committees, but took no conspicuous part in political affairs during the Commonwealth. Unwelcome as his 'seclusion' must have been to him, a season of retirement had its advantages, seeing that only by the most careful economy could he hope to make good the losses and expenses incurred during the Civil War, and get together money enough for his brothers' and sisters' portions. John Drake's was already four years overdue. He had recently left the army, and, no doubt, was already contemplating the marriage with Patience Savery, which led him by and by to settle down in the neighbourhood of Ivy Bridge.

William, the next in age, was in even more immediate want of his fortune. On June 2, 1649, ere he had fully completed the year of his majority, he married Susanah Ford. Nothing whatever is known about her. She may have been well to do, but it is far more likely that the marriage was an imprudent one and detrimental to his prospects.



The only member of the family who seems to have been gifted with a genius for finance was the Dowager Lady Drake, though unfortunately this did not tend to make matters easier for her eldest son. After the death of Mr. Trefusis, she no longer cared to keep possession of the barton of Buckland, and, as it was within her power to let the lands away from her son, Sir Francis had really no option but to rent them from her on her own terms. Lady Joan was fully alive to the advantages of her position, and, being always on the alert to drive a profitable bargain, she now, as a basis for the proposed arrangement, put forward a valuation of the estate made in the year 1641, just before the Civil War broke out. The fields in hand, then separately measured, were estimated to contain rather more than 277 acres, and were reckoned as worth £324 per annum. To this sum Lady Joan added the profits arising from four orchards, two gardens, woods, hopyards, nurseries, and a small mill near the river Tavy.<sup>1</sup> Nothing that could be made remunerative was forgotten, even the rabbits she set down as worth £10 a year, thus bringing up her income from the estate to the respectable sum of £490 per annum. She must have studied the family motto to good purpose, and have been a marvellously clever woman of business, to have contrived that so little should have produced so much—an amount equal in spending power to nearly £2,000 a year now! Sir Francis does not appear to have disputed his mother's conclusions; she had always had the upper hand, and the time was past when he bickered with her over money matters. What his steward thought about it, however, may be guessed from a quaint explanatory note in the old vellum book which records the transaction. 'She kept many horses at the North Wood at the same, and sheep, pigs and horses in the orchards, which she says she puts under

<sup>1</sup> The mill by the Weir, long since destroyed.

her hand for a Truth, the 24th of March 1648,<sup>1</sup> when she delivered up the Barton of Buckland to her son Sir Francis Drake.'

Information is wanting as to where Lady Joan took up her abode after her second widowhood, yet as she appears to have been an always available witness when family documents of consequence had to be signed, we are probably not wrong in supposing that she resided in the neighbourhood of Buckland or Meavy, where she would have been within an easy distance of four of her children and not very far from her own relations at Newnham. There is, however, just one little indication that she occasionally visited Trefusis, and, curiously enough, it comes to us in connexion with the story of her youngest daughter's love affair with a Cavalier, Sir Hugh Wyndham.

To understand the complications of poor Joan Drake's ill-starred romance we must glance backwards to June 1646, when Fairfax took Prince Rupert prisoner at Oxford. After some negotiations, Rupert, being ordered to leave this country, went to France, where he was created Field Marshal and given the command of the English refugees. He remained in the service of Louis XIV till June 1648, when he accompanied the Prince of Wales to the Hague.

Part of the English navy, which still adhered to the Royal cause, had recently been strengthened by the arrival of eleven battleships, brought to Holland by officers revolted from the Parliament. In December the Prince of Wales's Council resolved that these and the King's vessels should be collected into one fleet under the command of Prince Rupert. Seamen and money were difficult to procure, but there was no lack of officers to serve under him, as the Dutch and French courts swarmed with Royalist gentlemen fretting for employment. Early in December (1648) Rupert

<sup>1</sup> According to modern reckoning 1649. The year did not then begin till March 25.

put to sea, intending to harass English trade in the Channel and assist Ormond in Ireland. The first part of his design prospered well enough. Before a month was over, he had passed quietly through the enemy's fleet and taken the fort and harbour of Kinsale, where his ships could safely lie in wait to capture or destroy merchantmen bound for English ports. These piratical depredations were unchecked till March 1649, when a Parliamentary squadron appeared before Kinsale and began to make reprisals. Towards the end of April, the *Guinea*, frigate, and two more ships of Rupert's were taken by Colonel Popham, one of the Parliament's newly appointed 'Generals-at-Sea.'<sup>1</sup> Popham was warmly congratulated upon this occasion by the Council of State, and instructed not to release or exchange any prisoners other than common seamen, who, 'to avoid further charge, might be set ashore somewhere in the enemy's quarters.'<sup>2</sup>

The captain of the *Guinea* was accordingly sent to London, 'to be proceeded against according to his demerits,' but young Sir Hugh Wyndham, who was one of her officers, disguised himself as a common sailor and escaped detection, notwithstanding that the General, as a Somersetshire man, might have been expected to recognise and detain him.

Sir Hugh was immediately employed again on another vessel of Rupert's, but good fortune rarely waited long upon him; early in July the *Garland* and the *Nonsuch*, two of Blake's frigates engaged in blockading Kinsale, captured the *Santa Teresa* as she tried to break out of the harbour. In her they took Colonel William Legge, Sir Hugh Wyndham, Captain Darcy, sixty men, eleven guns and ammunition.

The prize was sent into Plymouth, where her officers were summarily imprisoned whilst the mayor inquired what was the pleasure of Parliament concerning them. All three gentlemen were noted delinquents.

<sup>1</sup> *Sta. Pap. Dom.*, May 1, 1649.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* May 7 and July 17, 1649.



Captain Francis Darcy, 'a very dangerous person,' had commanded the frigate.

Colonel William Legge, one of the most active and devoted Royalists, was especially attached to Prince Rupert, and with him had surrendered to Fairfax at Oxford. Subsequently, Legge had attended the King in his flight from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, for which offence and his attempt to contrive a further escape he was for a short time imprisoned. After this he took the Negative Oath—that he would not again bear arms against the Parliament—and was thereupon freed and permitted to leave the country.

Sir Hugh Wyndham, the least experienced of the *Santa Teresa's* prisoners, was serving as lieutenant on board her, and in one way or another he had been fighting for the King ever since the beginning of the war.

The unlucky trio were not kept long in suspense as to the fate in store for them. On July 21 the House ordered that they 'be further removed and committed for High Treason'—Darcy to Dorchester Castle, Legge to Exeter, where he was detained for three years, and Sir Hugh Wyndham to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall.

Political offenders of the most dangerous sort, whose escape might have embarrassed the Government, were not, it seems, usually consigned to Pendennis; probably, because most people in the district were Royalists, and on the lonely Cornish coast there were many spots favourable for concealment or evasion. Young Sir Hugh Wyndham, however, was not a prisoner who could do any great harm to his country, neither, on the other hand, could he be of much assistance to his friends. He might lay down his life for the King, but he had little else to offer whilst his father, Colonel Edmund Wyndham, lived. How long Sir Hugh remained in the custody of Sir Hardress Waller at Pendennis is unrecorded: at the utmost, his detention could only have

lasted six months, during part of which time he may have been on parole and not very strictly kept.

Pendennis Castle, as has been before explained, is situated on an eminence which commands the entrance to Falmouth Harbour. The corresponding headland on the opposite side of the bay is Trefusis Point, where, high above the water, screened by a small plantation, stood the Tudor mansion which, in 1649, was the seat of John Trefusis and his wife Elizabeth, Sir Francis Drake's second sister. Below, on the shore level, about the centre of the haven, lay Arwenack, backed by noble elms and well in view—as became the Manor House of those fine old Vikings, the Killegrews. Besides these two residences, most accessible by water, there were none in the occupation of gentlemen of position within several miles of Pendennis. Sir Peter Killegrew, even had he been in England, was far too staunch a Royalist to try and make things pleasant for the family of a Parliamentary Governor. Thus, for cheerful society and neighbourly attentions, Sir Hardress and Lady Waller must have been almost wholly dependent on the Trefusises and their friends, most of whom, one naturally supposes, were of the same political bias as themselves.

In this tranquil community, the arrival of a State prisoner, young, brave, enterprising, with the glamour of danger about him, was certain to arouse some gentle curiosity. Mrs. Trefusis and her sisters-in-law, we may be sure, would not be contented until they had obtained a sight of him. At first, of course, Sir Hugh was closely guarded, but as news came week by week of Blake's continued successes, of Rupert's desperate straits, of the failure, one after another, of Charles II's schemes—wholesome intelligence which would surely not have been withheld from the prisoner—we may well believe that Sir Hardress Waller's exhortations to cease plotting and think about petitioning for a remission of his

sentence began gradually to make an impression upon Sir Hugh. In this chastened frame of mind, visitors, whose counsels pointed in the same direction, might have been admitted to see him; amongst these we may reckon the Trefusises, and with them the Dowager Lady Drake, who had reasons for feeling especially interested in the young man, some of his cousins having intermarried with her own relations, the Strodes. Thus, ere long, Sir Hugh, no doubt, was well acquainted with the little circle who came to Pendennis, and, within safe limits, may occasionally have been permitted to enjoy the society of Lady Waller's friends. Although these were Parliamentarians, they were not mere fanatical zealots. Many, though not Sir Hardress, probably sincerely regretted the manner of Charles I's death, and each one could respect the straightforward loyalty of the young Cavalier. A few, perhaps, privately sympathised with him, and with kindly eyes watched the growing attachment between the prisoner and Joan Drake. A more unpromising courtship could hardly have been, considering the different opinions entertained by the two families, but Joan, no doubt, very soon believed that she had always been a Royalist at heart!

Sir Hugh was twenty-eight years old, the young lady was nineteen; under these circumstances a love affair was natural enough; the only surprising part of the story is that clever, practical Lady Joan should have consented to an engagement which offered no advantages for her daughter. But human nature abounds in inconsistencies. For herself the dowager was far from indifferent to the benefits of a liberal income, yet here we find her romantically and most incautiously promoting the union of a pair of lovers who, from a worldly point of view, would have been much better parted.

Clear-sighted as Lady Joan was in the direction of her own concerns, the matrimonial prospects of her younger



daughters seem to have somewhat bewildered her judgment. She was beset by perplexities. Were their suitors in earnest? Which were the right young men to encourage? For enlightenment and guidance in her difficulties, she applied to the famous astrologer, Mr. William Lilly, who was at that time resident in London, delivering lectures upon his so-called Science and reaping an abundant harvest from the credulity of his fashionable clients.

Some of Lilly's papers, written in a jargon of Latin and English, are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.<sup>1</sup> They appear to be memoranda of his business, kept for future reference. From these notes we learn that, at Lady Drake's request, he set out for her the horoscopes of two persons whose names she did not disclose—evidently those of her daughters Joan and Sarah. She asked the same question with respect to each: An nupserit? [Whether she will marry.] To which Lilly replied by drawing a couple of astrological figures; against the first of these he wrote: 'Dixi prope Christmasnext. Dixi ♃<sup>2</sup> esse hominem;' whilst against the second—seemingly a less pressing affair—he wrote simply 'Dixi ♂<sup>3</sup> pro homine.'

And so it came to pass—divers events both public and private working together in harmony with planetary influences—that in the early winter Sir Hugh was released, and on February 4 he was married at Buckland Church to Joan Drake.

The wedding had the approval of the bride's mother, but it was in flat opposition to the wishes of Sir Francis, who, consequently, made his displeasure felt by refusing to pay

<sup>1</sup> *Ashmole MS.*, 185, fol. 217.

<sup>2</sup> The astronomical sign for Jupiter, applicable perhaps because Sir Hugh was an eldest son and a Royalist.

<sup>3</sup> The astronomical sign for Mars, which it appears stood 'in the place' of Mr. Thomas Trevelyan. We have, however, no proof that he was a soldier, though that he was one during the Civil War is probable.

his sister's dowry. Such an extreme measure requires more than mere political incompatibility to explain it. We can only suppose that want of confidence in Sir Hugh's character, as well as the active Royalism of his parents, which had led to the sequestration of their estates and thereby made them incapable of suitably maintaining their son, must have been the reasons for Sir Francis's severity.

But for these circumstances, which were the outcome of the Civil War, the match would have been a very suitable one. The Wyndhams had for several generations been large landowners in Somersetshire and Norfolk, and they had increased their possessions by fortunate marriages, whereby cadets of the house had been able to establish themselves independently in other counties. At the time of which we write, the leading members of the cousinhood in the West were :

Sir John Wyndham of Orchard, in Somerset, and of Felbrigg, in Norfolk, head of the family ;

Sir Hugh Wyndham of Pilleston, Sergeant-at-law ; he had made his peace with the Parliament, and been confirmed in his legal appointment ;

Colonel Edmund Wyndham of Kentisford, near Watchet, and his younger brother, Sir Francis, who had married the heiress of Trent. These two brothers were sons of an old Sir Edmund Wyndham, who, at the end of King James's reign, sent Edmund, his heir, ' to serve in the Low Country wars, thinking that at one time or another the employment of a soldier would be necessary to the preservation of the constitution of his country.' On his return from abroad, Edmund married Christabella, daughter, and eventual heiress, of Hugh Pyne of Cathanger, a Somersetshire squire, one of the most determined opponents of ship-money and other illegal impositions. Yet, when the Civil War began, Colonel Edmund was, like the rest of his cousins, among the first to take up arms for the King. The Colonel's motives,

no doubt, were as much personal as political; he held an appointment as Clerk of the Errors in the Exchequer Court and was well known at Whitehall, owing to which circumstance, as well as to her great beauty, his wife Christabella was selected as lady nurse to the baby Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. She was devoted to the Prince, and had always a great influence over him.<sup>1</sup> The Edmund Wyndhams could scarcely have been rich, for they had seven children; moreover, Elizabeth, Sir Thomas's widow, was then alive and residing at Kentisford. But Colonel Wyndham did not shrink from sacrifices. He mortgaged his estate, and sent men, arms, horses, and £1,000 to the King at Oxford, by the hands of his eldest son Hugh, who was knighted and took service under his father in a troop of horse which he raised and equipped.

In 1643 Colonel Wyndham was appointed Governor of Bridgwater, and when in the following spring the Prince of Wales came to the West, he stayed for a short time with the Wyndhams—greatly to the vexation of Edward Hyde, the King's Chancellor of the Exchequer. Hyde disliked Christabella extremely. He accounted her foolish and frivolous, because, whilst she made much of the Prince's Governor, the stupid old Earl of Berkshire, she slighted himself, causing him, as he thought, to be under-valued by other members of the Council.

The intense bitterness which the mere remembrance of these mortifications aroused in Hyde long after the Restoration shows us that the spirited beauty's influence was a factor to be reckoned with. She could not, however, have been a tactful, discerning woman, or she would have refrained

<sup>1</sup> Collinson states erroneously that Christabella was wet nurse to the Prince of Wales. The wet nurse was a Welsh woman; Mrs. Wyndham was the lady nurse. She received a present of plate on the occasion of the Prince's baptism; the wet nurse was given a gold chain. See Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*.



from making an implacable enemy of the only capable man in attendance on the Prince. It may be true that she bred dissension in the Council, that she encouraged Prince Charles in a love of pleasure rather than in attention to grave affairs of State—he was barely fourteen at the time—and true, also, that, having known the Royal family in their private life, she did not sufficiently conceal how poor her opinion was of his Majesty's abilities; but that her ardent loyalty was at all dependent on the 'advantages' which Hyde says she hoped for, is amply disproved by her husband's faithfulness in adversity and by the almost complete ruin which befel her and her children in consequence. Hyde has memorialised Christabella—and his own spite—in his 'History of the Rebellion,' but he revenged himself more effectively by thwarting and injuring her husband and son whenever he had the opportunity to do so. Several passages of his History are devoted to a defence of his own conduct, in taking advantage of a miserable, vamped-up story in order to get young Sir Hugh Wyndham suspended from attendance on the Prince, almost immediately after the Council left Bridgwater.<sup>1</sup>

The Wyndhams and their friends bore Hyde 'much malice' for this, but they were none the less loyal to the King. Sir Hugh rejoined the garrison at Bridgwater Castle, and when that place surrendered to Fairfax, in 1645, he was one of the hostages sent in to the Parliamentary camp. What became of him immediately afterwards is not recorded. His father and his uncle, Sir Francis—who at about the same time surrendered Dunster to the Parliament—were imprisoned and their estates sequestrated.<sup>2</sup> After four years'

<sup>1</sup> When the *History* was published Clarendon suppressed the whole of this passage, but in a recent edition it is given in full.

<sup>2</sup> In March 1645 the estates of all persons who had continued in opposition to the Parliament were sequestered, and the income therefrom was applied towards defraying the expenses of the war. Delinquents who were willing to submit to

detention, Colonel Edmund Wyndham was permitted to ransom himself and go to the Continent, where, until the Restoration, he remained in the service of the Prince of Wales.

Of Sir Hugh's doings nothing is known till we find him employed under Prince Rupert at Kinsale. Although poor, Sir Hugh was not absolutely penniless, because some small possessions of his own had escaped sequestration, and as four years had elapsed since the siege of Bridgwater, no doubt he and his bride felt themselves to be tolerably secure. They lived, we are told, 'near Plymouth,' which, we suppose, means that they resided with the Dowager Lady Drake, who, thanks to the advantages accruing to her by her two marriages, was in affluent circumstances, and was undoubtedly the one member of the family best able to assist the young couple.

The winter of 1650 was a busy season for the Dowager ; scarcely had she launched one daughter on the sea of matrimony, when the bells were set a-ringing for the wedding of her last remaining girl, Sarah Drake, who was married on February 21, at Buckland Church, to Thomas Trevelyan of Yarnscombe Court near Umberleigh. The bridegroom, in this case, seems to have been a friend of Sir Francis's, but we know very little of the affair further than that the young couple were happy in their devotion to each other, and that they resided at Knowle, a small manor house belonging to the Trevelyans, prettily situated in the parish of Carhampton in Somersetshire.

By this marriage, welcome as it may have been to Sir Francis for his sister's sake, his personal embarrassments the Parliament were permitted to compound for their estates upon the payment of a fine, which varied in amount from two-thirds to a tenth of the value of the compounder's estate, according to the more or less aggravated circumstances of his delinquency. Wives of delinquents who had fled the country were upon their petition usually permitted to live in their husband's house and enjoy a fifth of his income for the support of themselves and their families. See Preface to Part I, Calendar of Committee for Compounding, *Sta. Pa. Dom.*

were brought to a climax. Hitherto, owing to his mother's exactions and his own expenses during and after the Civil War, he had been unable to pay off the portions due to his five younger brothers and sisters, and although John Drake had patiently waited five years for his capital, none of the others seem to have been willing to defer their claims even for a few months longer to help their eldest brother. The pressure of these harassing debts had become intolerable to Sir Francis. Unfortunately, alas ! he could see no way to free himself except by parting with Werrington Park—a sacrifice as painful to him as it was unfair to his wife. This delightful dower house had been settled upon Dorothea at the time of her marriage, and without her consent, together with that of her trustees, it could not be sold. However, as she was genuinely anxious to help her husband, after some negotiations (from which these details are gathered), Alexander Pym, Charles Pym, John Bamfield, and Anthony Nicholl agreed to accept, as an equivalent settlement, Sherford Barton—then leased to Sir John Maynard—and other agricultural lands.<sup>1</sup>

Werrington passed by purchase into the possession of Sir William Morris ; <sup>2</sup> the price he paid for the estate was probably not great, because land, which for several years had been almost unsaleable, was then only just beginning to recover a marketable value. It is likely that twice as much property was got rid of as need have been, if the younger members of the Drake family had not forced a sale at such an unpropitious moment. Indeed, it seems that if they had forborne but six months longer there need have been no

<sup>1</sup> The agreement is dated June 1, 1650. It assigned an income to Dorothea, but gave her no certainty of a residence. To make up for her risk in this respect, she was to be permitted to sell the lease of Sherford Barton for three or four lives, when it fell into hand.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Morris was afterwards Secretary of State to Charles II. He added to the house and hung some of the rooms with the fine tapestry which still adorns them.



sale at all, for, towards the end of 1650, Sir Francis appears to have paid off all his brothers and sisters except Joan, and yet to have had money to spare. How this came to pass we cannot be sure, we can only imagine that some of his losses in the Civil War had been unexpectedly recouped, or that leases for lives had fallen into hand ; but in whatever way his good fortune may have come about, the windfall gave Sir Francis the opportunity of retrieving his position as a landowner. Although he had parted with his house at Werrington, with the park and Barton belonging thereto, he still retained that portion of his property in the parish of St. Stephen-by-Launceston, through which he enjoyed the interest of about half the electoral borough of Newport ; and now he was enabled to consolidate this interest by the acquisition of the remainder of the pocket borough.

On November 2, 1650, Sir Francis bought out the lives which stood between him and the absolute possession of Newhouse, a manor at one time appertaining to the old Priory at Launceston, the reversion of which had been purchased by his father. He also acquired two mills with splendid water power, woods, pastures, and farm buildings adjoining ; not a beautiful residential estate such as Werrington, but valuable property, and carrying with it privileges always more highly prized in this country than money—two safe seats in Parliament.

It may have been satisfaction at the improved state of his affairs, combined with the intercession of Elizabeth Trefusis, which, in the spring of 1651, disposed Sir Francis to modify the severity of his attitude towards his sister Joan, so far, at least, as to admit that she was entitled to her portion. Nevertheless, he still refused to pay it to Sir Hugh Wyndham. Unfortunately, Sir Francis was persuaded, against his judgment, to agree to a proposal that the money should stand for the young people's benefit in his own and

Mr. Trefusis's hands jointly. The Wyndhams, no doubt, babbled about the matter, for Sir Hugh was not a discreet man, and the consequence was that the very thing happened which Sir Francis had dreaded when he refused his consent to the marriage.

Early in May 1651, a rumour reached the ears of a Colonel Thomas Willoughby that Sir Hugh Wyndham, a delinquent, was possessed of means for which he had not compounded. The Colonel, scenting a reward for himself, gave notice of the fact, whereupon an order was issued that the Devon and Somerset County Committees should inquire into the case and report upon it. On May 20 Sir Hugh appeared before the Committee at Guildhall, acknowledged his delinquency, confessed that he had been in arms for the King, and asked to be permitted to compound for the reversion of his father's settled estate, as well as for £1,500 in the hands of Sir Francis Drake and his mother, due to him, he said, for his wife's portion.

Upon this, Sir Francis and Lady Joan seem to have made strong representations, averring that the money was not due to the Wyndhams, that the marriage was without her brother's consent, and so forth—all the arguments Sir Francis himself had used from the first to justify his opposition to the marriage. This petition to Parliament is not forthcoming, but its result was an order that the £1,500 should be sequestered to Sir Francis Drake and his mother, who were to be responsible for the money. Colonel Thomas Willoughby, however, was not to be hoodwinked; <sup>1</sup> by diligent investigations he must have succeeded in discovering that Sir Francis had at one time acknowledged the justice of his sister's claim, for, on November 15, after six months of uncertainty, the

<sup>1</sup> The whole fine passed by order of Parliament into the pocket of Colonel Thomas Willoughby, nominally as a reward for discovering Sir Hugh Wyndham's estate, but really because he had a large outstanding claim against the Government, which he was permitted to liquidate out of the property of delinquents.

Committee for Compounding decreed that Sir Hugh was to be mulcted of one-sixth<sup>1</sup>—£250 in respect of his wife's portion, and £692 for his right to the reversion of his father's estate—a penalty amounting in all to £942. Unable to find so much ready money, Sir Hugh asked to be allowed to sell lands worth £137 a year, belonging, it seems, to his father. This was permitted, and on January 20, 1652, the fine was paid and he was declared discharged.

After this we hear no more of family dissensions; Sir Francis and his brother-in-law became good friends, clouds vanished, and poor Joan's little barque, which had so nearly foundered before it was well out of harbour, drifted away, not, alas! into rivers of plenteousness, but into troubled, shallow waters, where, with difficulties perpetually ahead, Sir Hugh lost heart, whilst she held bravely on. These things, however, will be glanced at in their time and place. Now we will return to other members of the family, too long neglected whilst we have been telling the story of their youngest sister.

It has been shown by the case of the Wyndhams that, in 1651, good Somersetshire lands worth £137 per annum, upon a forced sale fetched no more than £692—a trifle over five years' purchase. These figures, equally applicable to the property of delinquents in whatever county it was sold, explain how it came to pass that, in June 1651, Dorothea's fortune of £2,500, which would have been a great help to her husband, was still, after ten years of marriage, only partly paid. The delay in this case was not the fault of Alexander and Charles Pym, but was again simply because, for some

<sup>1</sup> If we accept £137 as a sixth of the annual value of the Kentisford estate, it gives us an income of £822, which is probably very near the mark, because we know that Colonel Edmund's mother had the proportionable jointure of £223 per annum. Money being then worth four and a half times as much as it is now, we may consider that Colonel Wyndham's income from settled property was equivalent to about £4,000 a year, not an unlikely sum considering the position of the family.



time after the Civil War, lands belonging to Royalists were almost unsaleable, owing to doubts entertained by would-be purchasers as to the permanent validity of the parliamentary title offered with them.

It will be remembered that, after the death of Mr. Pym, Parliament granted to trustees a forfeited estate of good value, for the payment of his debts and to provide portions for his younger children. The trustees tried to sell this property for the purposes of the trust, 'but could not because no considerable price was to be had for it.' Whilst they waited for better times, law-suits and other difficulties arose; finally, the Committee at Haberdashers' Hall seized upon the property, but was so dilatory in administering it, that for several years the rents were not collected and no one got any benefit out of it at all. In order to put an end to this deadlock and relieve the parties concerned, Sir Francis's cousin, Francis Rouse, endeavoured to enlist the interest of Pym's old friend, Sir Harry Vane, then one of the most potent members of the Council of State.

Sir (he writes to him from Acton, on June 16, 1651), I know you want not work, yet I hope a labour of love will not be unwelcome to you, for God's faithfulness is engaged to remember such labours. This work of love is for a saint, and I hope a saint in glory (Mr. Pym), who himself died a labourer in the same work.<sup>1</sup>

Francis Rouse then goes on to describe the position of affairs, earnestly soliciting that the forfeited estate might now be sold, and that some four or five members of the House should be named as a committee, to consider

what was further to be allowed for the debts and portions . . . that there be some speedy end of this business. . . . When you have performed all this (he concludes), I hope it may be

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the same work as Sir Harry Vane, for the rights and liberties of the nation as opposed to prelacy and absolutism; a truly sacred cause in the eyes of the Puritans.

no grief of heart to you that you have done a good work for the service of a good God, in and for whose service I believe the debts were chiefly contracted. But you shall herein resemble the prophet deceased, and for me you shall bind me to be, Sir, Your faithful and thankful servant, F. ROUSE.<sup>1</sup>

Thus pathetically reminded of a departed friend, with whose opinions he had been in unison and whose labours he had shared, Sir Harry seems willingly to have applied his shoulder to the wheel. With his powerful aid obstacles were surmounted, and by the end of the year, Mr. Pym's debts were discharged and the portions of his children paid.

Disembarrassed of pecuniary annoyances, Charles Pym, always the helpful member of his house, set sail in the autumn of 1651 for the Bahamas, to look after the management of estates belonging to his brother Alexander and himself in Providence and Somers Islands. At the same time he purposed to visit members of his family who were handsomely established at Nevis, Antigua, and elsewhere in the West Indies. Charles Pym's voyage to the tropics proved useful both to himself and to the Commonwealth. He was staying at Antigua when, towards the end of October, the Parliamentary fleet under Sir George Ayscue arrived at Barbados and summoned the Governor, Lord Willoughby, to surrender to the authority of Parliament. Willoughby, who had been a Parliamentarian but was now a Royalist, drew out his troops, declaring his intention to keep the island for the King's service. His spirited resistance was not supported by the inhabitants. After a few weeks the more considerable planters made terms for themselves and

<sup>1</sup> Francis Rouse, fourth son of Sir Anthony Rouse of Halton, was born in 1579. His Christian name suggests that he may very likely have been godson of the great Sir Francis Drake, to whom, at any rate, he was well known. When Sir Anthony's chaplain published the poem, entitled 'Sir Francis Drake, his honourable life's Commendation,' Francis Rouse furnished the Preface. He served in all Charles I's Parliaments. In religion and politics he was a Presbyterian. In 1648 he was one of the Derby House Committee, but in 1649, owing to the fanatical intolerance of the Presbyterian party, he went over to the Independents.

encamped under the protection of the fleet. Prolonged opposition being thus rendered impossible, on January 11, 1652, the Governor appointed four Commissioners, one of whom was Charles Pym, to treat with Sir George Ayscue. By these Commissioners it was concluded

that the Islands of Barbados, Nevis, Antigo and St. Christopher should be surrendered to the Parliament of England, that Lord Willoughby . . . and some others should be restored to their estates, and that the inhabitants of the said Isles should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they possessed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. This news being brought to Virginia, they submitted also.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Pym's absence lasted well away into the year 1652; in January he was at Barbados; in May he was still abroad, gaining the experience and knowledge which, in Charles II's reign, led to his appointment as a member of the Council for Foreign Plantations. Whilst he was in the West Indies a friend and connexion, whom he had known long and intimately, passed away. Mary Crymes, Sir Francis's eldest sister, died at Crapstone on February 28, 1652, aged only thirty-six. Her married life of fifteen years, during which time thirteen children had been born to her, must have afforded her more anxieties than pleasures. Three of her little ones had predeceased her, and, of the remaining ten, the youngest boy was but fifteen months old when she died.

Mrs. Crymes's funeral was, no doubt, according to the custom of the times, numerously attended by her husband's and brother's tenants and constituents as well as by friends and relations, but unless the law was evaded—which is not likely—the ceremony was merely a civil function, shorn utterly of all the consolations of religious ritual. The ordinances of the Church of England as set forth in the

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow.*



Book of Common Prayer had been strictly prohibited since March 1645, when Parliament promulgated 'The Directory for Public Worship,' which says :

Concerning the Burial of the Dead. When any person departeth this life, let the dead body upon the day of burial be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for Publique Burial and there immediately interred without any Ceremony. And because the customs of kneeling down and praying by or towards the dead corpse and other such usages in the place where it lies, before it be carried to be buried are Superstitious ; and for that praying, reading, and singing both in going to and at the grave have been grossly abused, are by no means beneficial to the Dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside. Howbeit, we judge it very convenient that the Christian friends which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for Publique Burial, do apply themselves to meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion : And that the Minister as upon other occasions, if he be present, may put them in mind of their duty.<sup>1</sup>

A sermon, in fact, was the only remnant of religious observance permitted at an interment, the only peculiar mark of respect which an incumbent might show to the memory of a deceased parishioner, and therefore it was rarely omitted. At the funeral of Mrs. Crymes, which took place on March 3 at Buckland Church, the sermon was preached by the Vicar, the Reverend Joseph Rowe, who chose for his text Rev. xiv. 13. He made a long, dry, didactic discourse, divided and subdivided, offering—so it seems to us—but poor solace to aching hearts. Perhaps Mr. Rowe had not known Mary intimately or had not really liked her ; she may have been too firmly attached to the ritual of the Church of England to meet with his full approval. He only once alludes to her directly, as 'a gracious gentlewoman,' and certainly seems to hint rather impatiently that an excessive, exaggerated grief was felt for her loss.

<sup>1</sup> Scobell, p. 91.

It is a part of dying well (he says) to die willingly. A sunshine day may be closed with a stormy evening; but a gracious life shall never end in an evil unhappy death. . . . I beseech you all that hear me now, but all you more especially that sympathise in the sorrow of the day through the death of our departed sister, that ye mitigate and moderate your sorrow and grief; do ye bound and limit it least it hurt yourselves, dishonour God, bring the profession of the Gospel into contempt. You have all lost, I know, by this death stroke. Oh know, know that God is able to repay your losses, and will do so if you wait upon him. In a word, she is gone from the Church militant to the Church triumphant, from sojourning here in God's tabernacle, to dwell upon his holy hill; from labouring here in the Kingdom of Grace, to rest and blessedness in the Kingdom of Glory.<sup>1</sup>

No especial monument marks the spot in Buckland Church where Mary Crymes was laid. The only memorials of her life and death are her portrait, her marriage settlements, the parish registers, two letters, and Mr. Rowe's sermon, with its suggestive allusion to the passionate grief of her children and household. As for the bereaved husband, he seems scarcely to have needed his pastor's exhortations to bound and limit his sorrow, it came most naturally to him to do so. After only eighteen months of widowhood, Mr. Crymes was ready—like the patriarch Job—for fresh happiness, a new wife and more children.

The second Mrs. Crymes brought up the number of his sons and daughters in quick succession to twenty-four; then she also was worn out and died. Ellis Crymes survived till 1690. He was buried in the family vault at the north-east end of Buckland Church, where more than half his children had gone before him. His eighth son succeeded to Crapstone, but only enjoyed the estate two years; then it passed to his grandson, a clergyman who had fourteen

<sup>1</sup> 'The Blessedness of Departed Saints in their immediate enjoyment of God in glorie, propounded and improved in a Funeral Sermon by Joseph Rowe, Minister of the Gospel and Pastor of Buckland Monachorum in Devon.'



MARY DRAKE  
(wife of Elizeus Crymes)  
DAUGHTER OF FIRST BARONET





children, with whom the male line of Ellis Crymes became extinct. So unfailing is the inexplicable law of averages, so absolute the law of retribution, from which there is no escape, that for every excess and for every mistake measure for measure will be exacted, if not from the wrongdoer, then from the innocent. Sooner or later someone must balance the account, even though it be not his own.

Could we look into the future, seventy or eighty years forward, few of us would have much gladness here, but if our vision extended over many centuries, possibly we might be consoled by seeing and knowing that, through the operation of this law which takes so little account of individual deserts, generations to come will attain to a higher level of intelligence and usefulness. Such distant, speculative benevolence, however, is not likely to have been in the thoughts of the Vicar of Buckland, when he assured the weeping Crymes children that they could be repaid for the loss of their mother. His sounding commonplaces were intended only for present consolation, and probably he could not himself have explained exactly what he meant by them.

Notwithstanding that the Reverend Mr. Rowe had graduated at Oxford, his leanings were towards Puritanism, and, of course, he had taken the Oath of Abjuration, otherwise he could not have held a living during the Commonwealth. The covenant was compulsory upon the beneficed clergy, but, excepting upon this point and the further stipulation that incumbents should be good men and capable, Parliament did not interfere with the liberty of choice exercised by private patrons. The result was that many Church of England pulpits were occupied by out-and-out Nonconformists—chiefly by Presbyterians and Independents; even Dippers, as the Baptists were called, occasionally obtained Church preferment.

In 1646, when Mr. Christopher Lawry retired from

Buckland, or was removed for his attachment to episcopacy, Ellis Crymes, the owner of the advowson, could scarcely have made a better appointment than that of Mr. Rowe, who was a man of unfeigned piety and already well known in the neighbourhood as nephew of the Reverend Joseph Shute, the old Rector of Meavy. Without doubt, Mr. Rowe was firmly convinced that, so long as religion was truly Protestant and accompanied by holiness of life, particular forms and ceremonies were not essential. So, with a good conscience, he could use the Book of Common Prayer when it was permitted, or do without it when it was forbidden. Such opportunism may not be a counsel of perfection, but upon the whole it was to the best advantage of his parishioners. The congregation was held together without disruption, and at the Restoration, parson and flock slipped quietly back into the fold of the Church of England.

We have sometimes wondered whether it was Mr. Rowe or a stranger who, towards the close of the Civil War and during the Commonwealth, from time to time held Church of England services privately in the tower chamber at Buckland Abbey? Tradition says that Dorothea and some other members of the Drake family could not reconcile themselves to the Presbyterian practices enjoined in the Directory for Public Worship, and that they gathered together in this out-of-the-way place to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Episcopal Church. There is no written evidence for this, but the little old wooden table at which, it is said, they knelt, has been carefully preserved in the same apartment.

We are inclined to think that the celebrant on these occasions was one of the clergy dispossessed for refusing the covenant, and that Mr. Rowe, knowing what was taking place, felt it to be a reflexion on himself. If this was so, his chilly attitude toward Mary Crymes need not surprise us.



Contemporaries seem to differ as to the duration and severity of the persecution inflicted upon Church people by the legislation of the Long Parliament and in the days of the Commonwealth. Archbishop Sancroft's son writes to his father in February 1649 :

When we meet it is but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience or lay down a weary head with the least repose, for the Church here will never rise again though the Kingdom should. . . . In the mean time there are caves and dens of the earth and upper rooms and secret chambers for a church in persecution to flee to, and there is all our refuge.<sup>1</sup>

But this desponding language was metaphorical, certainly not descriptive of facts as they actually were. There was no need for Church people to take refuge in foreign lands or to hide in caves and dens. Mr. Sancroft naturally viewed the prospect from the ecclesiastical standpoint, knowing how ardently the Presbyterian clergy longed to torment and persecute their opponents, and expecting, as a matter of course, that the tyranny of the Puritans would rival that lately exercised by the bishops. That his forecast was not quite correct, and that liberty of conscience was secured to the English people, is attributable to Oliver Cromwell, and to the determination of the Independent army.

Episcopacy as a national institution was set aside, but until November 1655—when the perpetual conspiracies fostered by the 'sequestered ministers' compelled the Protector to take more stringent measures against them—they could in some places have chapels of their own. Without let or hindrance they might use the Liturgy, preach and administer the sacraments in private houses, and even deliver sermons from parish pulpits at the request of the actual incumbents.

The Anglican laity so delighted in sermons, whether by

<sup>1</sup> Cary, p. 119.

priest or presbyter, that, during the Commonwealth, they by no means abstained from attendance at the parochial assemblies. Sunday after Sunday, Evelyn recorded in his diary that he had heard a sermon at Wootton or elsewhere, and his practice may be taken as typical of that of most of the Church of England gentry.

1652, March 14th. I went to Lewisham, where I heard an honest sermon on Corinth. 5, 7, being the first Sunday I had been at church since my returne, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit.

29th. I heard the excellent prelate, the Primate of Ireland (Jacob Usher) preach in Lincoln's Inn.

May 30th. In the afternoon to Charlton Church, where I heard a Rabbinical sermon.

Decr. 25, Christmas Day. No sermon anywhere, no church being permitted to be open, so observed it at home. The next day we went to Lewisham where an honest divine preached.

1653, Oct. 11th. My son . . . christened by Mr. Owen in my library at Sayes Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making use of him on these occasions because the parish minister durst not have officiated according to the form and usage of the Church of England to which I always adhered.

Decr. 4th. Going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up. . . . I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it . . . the purport [of his sermon] was that now ye saints were called to destroy temporal government, with such secculent stuff. . . .

1654, Decr. 3rd, Advent Sunday. There being no office at the Church but extemporary prayers after the Presbyterian way . . . I seldom went to church upon solemn feasts, but either went to London where some of the orthodox divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer the sacraments, etc., or else I procured one to officiate in my house.

April 5th, 1655. I went to London with my family to celebrate the feast of Easter. Dr. Wild preached at St. Gregorie's, the ruling powers conniving at the use of the Liturgy in this church alone. In the afternoon Mr. Pierson, since Bishop of Chester, preached at Eastcheape.

These extracts might be multiplied fourfold and reinforced from other sources, but enough has been quoted to show that, from 1644 to November 1655, Church people could contrive without much difficulty to enjoy the ministrations of their own clergy. We have only to change the names of the preachers and to substitute the county town for London, to have a fairly correct picture of what was done in most parts of England.

It is commonly supposed that in Puritan days all pleasure and liveliness were tabooed as sinful, but, although maypoles and 'church ales' were forbidden, because these customs as then practised conduced to inebriety, plenty of honest merry-making was still allowed. When Oliver Cromwell's daughter Frances married, Mrs. Cromwell gave a wedding ball which lasted till five o'clock in the morning. On this occasion forty violins were engaged, and there was 'mix't dancing,' whereat some excellent people were terribly scandalised.

Stage plays were more sternly condemned. They were prohibited by law as well as by ministers of religion, and yet, when performances did surreptitiously take place, people flocked to behold them. On one such occasion, at Witney, a fatal accident happened, which the Vicar of Buckland regarded as an only too well-merited judgment. He preached a special sermon about it, and afterwards improved and enlarged his discourse into a pamphlet, published in 1653, under the name of 'A Tragicomedia.' The title-page sets forth that it is 'A brief relation of the strange and wonderful hand of God discovered at Witney in the Comedy acted there Feb. 3rd, when there were some slain, many hurt, with several other remarkable passages.'

It seems that a play was being performed at the White Hart, Stanton Harcourt, and 400 people were present. 'They had continued their sport for an hour and a halfe, at which time it pleased God to put a stop to their mirth by an



immediate hande of his owne in causing the Chamber to sinke and fall under them.'

Quaint woodcuts adorn the pages of the 'Tragicomedia.' No doubt it was popular in its day, but it is rarely to be met with now.

Whilst we are treating of the Puritan sentiments of the nation, we are reminded of Major Thomas Drake, of whom no mention has been made since we told of the troubles he brought upon himself by his foolish journey to Oxford, when he 'rayl'd against religion and the Parliament.' His punitive detention in London was of brief duration, but probably he did not care to return to Plymouth till the episode had faded a little from the minds of his neighbours. We infer this from the fact that after the birth of his eldest daughter, Mary—baptised at Buckland in May 1643—there are no more entries in the parish registers of births or burials in his family until the autumn of 1647. In this interval we know that two, if not three, of his children were born, so they must have been christened elsewhere.

Major and Mrs. Thomas Drake probably returned to Devonshire in September 1647, soon after the birth of their second son, Francis, so named in remembrance of their first baby, who had survived his birth but a few months. Their little girl, Mary, died in October 1647, about which time they sold their life interest in Brendon, which can never have been much of a home to them. The price named in the conveyance of this estate seems strangely inadequate: £50 down, and £1 yearly for an eighty years' lease of a house with 300 acres of land about it! There must surely have been other 'valuable considerations' not thought proper to be mentioned in a legal document.

In 1649 the Thomas Drakes lost their daughter Dorothy. A son, Thomas, was born to them at Tavistock in 1650, and a daughter, Johanna, in 1651. In 1653 the babies, Thomas

and John, died within three weeks of each other, and later on in the same year, another little Thomas came and went.

The last we hear of the Major himself is that on June 3, 1653, a petition of his, the nature of which is not stated, was recommended by the Council of State to the Admiralty Committee. His request, most likely concerning some prize business, had probably been presented about the time of Blake's victory over Van Tromp, when the English fleet, which had suffered many humiliations at the hands of the Dutch, regained the command of the Channel. The moment was scarcely propitious for soliciting private favours from Parliament, the whole thoughts and efforts of the House being then directed towards concerting measures for avoiding the dissolution demanded as much by the voice of the country as by the army. When it became certain that no persuasions would induce the discredited remnant of the Long Parliament to dissolve willingly, Oliver Cromwell forcibly ejected the members on April 20, 1653. Between this date and the meeting of the nominated Parliament there was an interval of three months, during which time Cromwell ruled as Dictator, assisted by a Council of State of his own choosing. It was just then that Major Thomas Drake's petition lay on the table. Whether the Admiralty Committee granted it or not does not appear. Probably Thomas went to London to push his interests and met with a fatal accident or illness before any answer could be given. We know only that he died at about this time, and that when the end came he 'was a hundred miles from home.'

The excluded members of the Long Parliament, who had been hoping to return to their seats, must have been grievously disappointed to find that the new representatives were to be selected by the Army Council from lists sent up by the Congregational Churches. Moreover, small places, such as Beeralston, and pocket boroughs generally, were to be

disfranchised, so that, for the moment, Sir Francis's recent purchase of Newport Borough availed him nothing.

The nominated, or Barebones, Parliament met on July 4, 1653, and voluntarily terminated its existence on December 12 following. Five short months sufficed to bring the rule of the doctrinaires into ridicule and contempt. Individually they were very godly men, but so utterly incapable and unpractical that no one could have been more relieved than Francis Rouse, their Speaker, when, by a little judicious manœuvring, he contrived to place their resignations in the hands of Oliver Cromwell. Rouse, who was himself a sensible as well as a learned man, must often have regretted his connexion with this Parliament; but by bringing its labours peaceably to a close he made what amends he could for his mistake. He was thereafter much esteemed by Oliver Cromwell, who appointed him to be a member of the Council of State, and in process of time made him Provost of Eton and one of the Commonwealth Lords.



## CHAPTER VI

ON July 14, 1653, Oliver Cromwell, 'one of the greatest, bravest men the world has ever produced,'<sup>1</sup> was proclaimed Protector of Great Britain and Ireland. The forces arrayed against him were too numerous and varied to be subdued or reconciled even by his extraordinary genius, but, in spite of every impediment, he soon made England more prosperous at home and more respected abroad than had been the case since the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

One class only of the Protector's subjects could reasonably complain that they were not fairly used. These were the Royalist gentry. They had acknowledged their delinquency, had paid heavy compositions for their estates, and had been granted an Act of Indemnity, yet, when more money than could be raised in the ordinary way was required for maintaining the navy, they were again ruinously taxed.

Driven to desperation, naturally they plotted for the restoration of the monarchy, and, seeing them so hardly dealt with, many Commonwealth men were disposed to sympathise with them. No doubt, a policy of conciliation would have been wiser, but we can hardly blame Cromwell for not being in advance of the rulers of his age, none of whom understood how small a part punishment plays in good government. The one thing for which his administration has been most blamed is the employment of the major-

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby* (Royalist).

generals for the collection of the decimation tax. This was imposed indiscriminately upon all Royalists after the insurrection which broke out in March 1656. It cannot be denied that many richly deserved the penalties they brought upon themselves by their continual plotting and their iniquitous schemes for the assassination of the Protector and his Council; nor, alas, is it unusual to find the innocent suffering with the guilty.

In the spring of 1655 the Royalists had for a considerable time been preparing for a general rising, which was intended to take place simultaneously all over England. They relied on having, at any rate, the passive support of the thorough-going Republicans, who could not forgive Cromwell for his assumption of supreme power. These men—so the Royalists argued—might be expected to prefer the rule of an hereditary king to that of a protector taken from their own ranks. Whether or not the Republicans who plotted did so with a view to the restoration of the Stuarts is doubtful, but some certainly furthered any plans which might bring about the downfall of Cromwell, hoping that, in the general confusion likely to ensue, their own ideal form of government might have a fresh trial.

The projected insurrection broke out near Salisbury, prematurely, on March 11. It met with no sympathy whatever, either from town or country people, and was promptly suppressed by a single troop of soldiers. The insurgents retreated first to Blandford and then to South Molton, where they were finally defeated and their leaders made prisoners.

Two of Sir Francis's near relations of very different principles, Sir Hugh Wyndham and John Elford of Longstone, were suspected of complicity with the rebels. Sir Hugh was probably not really guilty, but unluckily for him some Royalist horsemen (old comrades, perhaps) in their flight

took refuge, or at any rate refreshment, at his house. Depositions to this effect being sworn against him, his protestations of innocence were disregarded and, in the autumn of 1655, he was assessed by General Desborough, collector of the decimation tax for the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and compelled to pay down a sum amounting to a tenth of his yearly income.

The precise nature of John Elford's offence is not so clearly set forth, but, as a warrant was issued for his apprehension, his misdemeanour must have been a serious one; presumably it was that of being in communication with the Royalists on the Continent, who, if the rising had become general, were to have effected descents upon the coast at various chosen places. The following letter, dated March 24, shows that in the West such intriguers were believed to be particularly active.

The Protector to Sir Francis Drake and the Justices of the Peace for the County of Devon.

You will have heard of the disappointment of the late insurrection. We and all other trusted to preserve the peace should endeavour to defeat the enemy's intentions, and therefore we beg that diligent watches, such as the law appoints, be kept for taking a strict account of all strangers in your County (and principally near the sea). It will suppress loose persons and cause some of those, who come from abroad to kindle fire here, to be apprehended, if care be taken to secure all that cannot give a good account of themselves, it may break dangerous meetings and assemblings. We expect your diligent endeavours, for if what by law ought to be done were done diligently, these designs could be frustrated at their birth.<sup>1</sup>

On the receipt of this letter, it became the duty of some magistrate, if not actually that of Sir Francis, to order the arrest of his cousin Elford, but it was not his business to effect it, and herein lay all the difficulty. Week after week

<sup>1</sup> *Sta. Pap. Dom.*, vol. xcv. 61.



Desborough's soldiers scoured the country all to no purpose—Mr. Elford could not be found. Yet Sir Francis, had he so chosen, might have hazarded a very shrewd guess as to his cousin's whereabouts. Probably, under the circumstances, he did not care to remember the 'Pixies' House,' a hollow space or cave formed by the settlement of the granite rocks on the heights of Shepstor. The spot, however, must have been perfectly well known to him. No doubt, dozens of times in his boyhood he and his young cousins had played in and around it. The entrance to the little hiding-place is so hardly noticeable that a stranger might pass close to it many times without supposing there could be room for a person to slip between the stones. Once within the opening, the occupant is entirely screened from observation, whilst by creeping forward he can at will enjoy a splendid view of the landscape for miles around. There is ample space wherein to sit and lie down, but not to stand upright, as the cave is only about five feet high. Here, sufficiently near to Longstone to receive the supplies his wife sent him by the hands of shepherd children, John Elford spent a considerable time. He must have suffered much from cold and perhaps occasionally from hunger, but, having some talents as an artist, he avoided the tedium of long days spent in idleness by employing himself in decorating the walls of his hermitage with paintings. 'The Pixies' House' remains much as it was in bygone days, but the wall paintings, which were quite fresh at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have completely disappeared. After some weeks of discomfort, when Desborough's troops were withdrawn, or the unwonted spurt of magisterial activity declined, Elford was able to come out of concealment and, as far as we know, he escaped punishment.<sup>1</sup> The story of his adventures has been frequently told by writers who, not taking the trouble to inquire into

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin's *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv. p. 169.

his previous history, have supposed that because he was obnoxious to Cromwell he must have been a Royalist. The real facts are quite otherwise : Elford was by no means an adherent of the Stuarts. Throughout the Civil War he sat in the Long Parliament, and it was not until he found himself excluded from that after Pride's Purge, from the nominated Parliament by the method of its election, and, finally, from the first Parliament of the Protectorate, that he began to bitterly oppose Cromwell—as, indeed, did many other Republicans.

Perplexities and annoyances arising out of political differences between Sir Francis and his kinsmen were not the only troubles which befell him about this time. In February 1655, his brother-in-law, John Trefusis, died, aged forty-three years. He was buried in the family vault at Mylor, but no monument appears to have been erected to his memory. His widow, Sir Francis's second sister, Elizabeth, continued to reside at Trefusis. She must have been sufficiently provided for either by her 'reasonable part' or by marriage settlement, because, besides the advantages accruing to her as executrix, the only benefits to which she was entitled under her husband's will were : £100, 'a mare or gelding at her own choice, and eleven bunches of emeralds.' The latter, though legally her husband's, were probably Elizabeth's own, given to her by her mother, who, as we know, possessed good jewels, some of them being 'greene stones.'

Sorrows rarely come singly ; three months after the death of her son-in-law, Lady Joan Drake died ; but where her demise took place it is impossible to say. The Buckland parish registers make no mention of her burial, nor is her will—if she made one—extant. Indeed, the only evidence that her death occurred at this time is that, in the beginning of July, Sir Francis complied with certain formalities necessary for enabling him to obtain legal possession of lands which

had been settled upon his mother. It appears by the Protector's writ, that just then Sir Francis was seriously ill and 'so weake that without great danger of his bodye' he could not travel to Westminster to make such acknowledgment as was required to be made in this behalf; wherefore Sir Edmund Fowell, Edmond, his son, and two other local justices of the peace were commanded 'to go to Sir Francis and personally take his deposition.'

Lady Joan had, no doubt, always intended to be undeniably just to her eldest son, but it is impossible to believe that she was at any time a very sympathetic parent to him. Her warmest affection seems to have been reserved for her younger children, who, perhaps, deserved it less. Some special gift or bequest of hers, it may have been, which enabled William Drake to go to Oxford in November 1655. Why he should have put off matriculating until he was thirty years of age and married is inexplicable, seeing that he did not take orders and it is not recorded that he even took a degree. Just as he went up to Exeter College, Joseph, the youngest of the Drake brothers, was leaving Oxford. His career there had not been brilliant, but if he had acquired no bad habits his friends had grounds for satisfaction. Public school education was then in such poor esteem that the Barebones Parliament intended, so it is said, to suppress the ancient seats of learning altogether. From this danger Cromwell saved them. In September 1652 he appointed Dr. Owen to the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University. Owen's account of the condition of affairs when he entered upon his functions, explains the unwillingness of prudent parents to send their boys to Oxford.

For two years (he says, in an oration to the gownsmen) we were of the vulgar, and a common talk of the vulgar . . . to such a pitch of madness were we arrived that to have stood up for the public schools would have been reckoned an offence



against religion and piety ; every thing that is held disgraceful among sober men and that is so really, was profusely imputed to you.

That was the lowest depth. In October 1655 a reformation of manners had been effected, and with justifiable pride Owen was able to say :

We have fought for whatever was handed down to us from antiquity, the depository of the piety of past ages, the hope and the seed plot of all that was dear to us. We have put to flight the wineshops, the ale-sellers, the mimes, the farces, the buffoons, the public riots, and the various disgraceful scenes that lately infested our streets. We can now once more show ourselves in our former solemnities, and stand forth unrebuked.

William Drake evidently had superior opportunities of improvement to those enjoyed by Joseph, but the result was the same in both cases : the brothers settled down in the country on their younger sons' portions and never distinguished themselves in any remarkable way. They must have been rather dull young men, and one can well believe that to Dorothea they were less interesting than her own and her husband's Somersetshire relations.

Amongst these an event happened this year (October 8, 1655) which assuredly gave pleasure to Sir Francis and his wife. This was the marriage from Buckland Abbey of their favourite niece, Lucy Symonds, with Francis Luttrell of Dunster. He had lately succeeded to this fine inheritance, and could offer his bride one of the most beautiful and interesting homes in the West of England.

Lucy Luttrell was not without old friends amidst her new surroundings. Knowle, the small estate where Thomas and Sarah Trevelyan lived so happily together, is about a couple of miles from Dunster Castle, and Kentisford, the ancient manor house of the Wyndhams where Sir Hugh and

Joan were established, is within a pleasant drive of both places. Colonel Edmund Wyndham was then residing abroad; in 1655 he acted as Charles Stuart's agent at Boulogne and other continental seaports; but his wife, Christabella, who did not care for a wandering existence, had, in 1650, successfully petitioned Parliament for permission to live in her husband's house, with the allowance of a fifth of his income for the support of herself and her seven children. In 1653, although Colonel Wyndham did not give up his attendance on the Prince, he nevertheless applied for permission to compound for his estates, in order probably that Christabella might be enabled to take possession of her own property, Cathanger, to which she became entitled on the death of her brother's widow. To this more commodious residence she, no doubt, gladly departed, leaving Sir Hugh and Joan in increased comfort at Kentisford. The small fortune belonging to this young couple—still further diminished by fines and taxation consequent upon Sir Hugh's royalism—together with the cares of an increasing family, were reasons enough to prevent Lady Wyndham from visiting Devonshire very often; all the more, therefore, must she have rejoiced when her brother and sister-in-law came into her own neighbourhood. Sir Francis and Dorothea were much attached to their niece Lucy, and they saw a good deal of each other.

In March 1656-7 Dorothea writes from Dunster to Charles Pym, announcing the birth of Lucy's eldest boy, their grand-nephew. Her letters are always amusing. One mentions a visit to Wembury, the magnificent seat of Sir John Hele, who had married a former neighbour of Charles Pym's—Mrs. Rogers of Cannington, widow of a distinguished Royalist killed at the beginning of the Civil War. 'For sure she loved Mr. Rogers very much,' says Dorothea, with some surprise, 'she is still in solemn widow's mourning though

so long married to another ! ' <sup>1</sup> Lady Hele's daughters bore the same Christian names as the Pymys, which leads us to suppose that there may have been some relationship between the families. Their principles were, however, quite opposite, for Sir John Hele was an ardent Royalist and he had taken an active part in the defence of Taunton.

From and after the third year of the Protectorate, Church people had need to walk more and more warily. The perpetual conspiracies fostered by the clergy compelled Cromwell to issue a proclamation, dated November 1655, prohibiting ministers of the Episcopal Church from preaching in public and from teaching in any schools. Up to this time men who had refused to take the oath of abjuration were not hindered from preaching in parish churches, provided they had the consent of the actual incumbents ; but, as they had used this liberty to inculcate their favourite doctrine of the Divine right of Kings, with its corollary of disobedience to the existing government, they were now to be silenced altogether.

The gentry who adhered to the Church of England nevertheless continued occasionally to attend the parochial assemblies, partly ' lest they should be suspected for Papists ' and partly out of respect to their parish ministers, who usually had been duly ordained and were, as a rule, good Christians and peaceable men.

The elections for the second Parliament of the Protectorate, which assembled at Westminster on September 17, 1656, were conducted without interference on the part of the Government, other than the very reasonable stipulation that no one should be nominated who had assisted in the Civil War against the Parliament. Yet the National Assembly thus called together was by no means a free one, for at its first meeting nearly a hundred members were excluded

<sup>1</sup> Letters in the collection of Philip Pleydel Bouverie, Esq.



upon the ground of their disaffection to the Government. Devonshire sent up eleven representatives; only five were permitted to take their seats. This arbitrary interference with the liberties of the people was justified, in Cromwell's eyes, by his firm persuasion that the measures taken were absolutely essential for the prevention of anarchy and bloodshed. He was not tyrannical by choice, but was forced into acts of despotism because his supremacy did not stand on a secure foundation. Barely a third of his subjects were willing to sit down peaceably and accept good government at his hands. The Royalists were subdued but not contented. The determined Republicans were irreconcilable. The Levellers (largely represented in the army) were bent on the destruction of all secular administration whatsoever, in order that the rule of the Saints might begin. Modern sovereigns in analogous circumstances have usually been dethroned or have hurriedly abdicated. Not so Cromwell, whose unconquerable courage always rose with the occasion for it. He was determinedly resolved that the principle of authority as vested in him should be upheld, that law, order and common sense should prevail. Tyranny, of course, there was, and of a kind most unwelcome to the disaffected.

Short work was made with dangerous visionaries. Suspected persons were summarily imprisoned. Public and private assemblies were jealously watched and frequently interfered with, but even those who were the most seriously inconvenienced suffered incomparably less than they would have done had Cromwell's enemies been successful in their attempts to depose him.

The sagacity and opportune firmness of the Protector carried him safely through this crisis. At the close of the session, in June 1657, when he signed the new Act of Government presented to him by the House, his authority obtained a more formal recognition than it had hitherto met with.

Notwithstanding this, however, Cromwell never found it safe or possible to relax the arbitrary vigilance of his government.

All tyrannies are more or less odious ; they are poisons to the body politic, yet occasions arise when the timely exhibition of a deadly drug may save life. There are, moreover, various species of tyranny. What a world of difference lies between the vain absolutism of Charles I, who dragged his people through misery and bloodshed for no better object than the enlargement of his personal power, and the absolutism of Cromwell, whose most despotical ambitions were bound up with the dignity and prosperity of the nation he ruled !

In this respect Cromwell's contemporaries judged him more fairly than later writers have done.

It is certain (says Bishop Kennett, who cannot be suspected of partiality to the Commonwealth) that the Protector was for liberty and of the utmost latitude to all parties—so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government, and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect on account of heresy or falsehood, but on his wiser account of political peace and quiet. And even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party was more for their being Royalist than for their being of the good old Church.

The especial watchfulness with regard to religious gatherings enjoined, in 1655, on all persons in authority, was, we may well believe, interpreted more or less harshly according to the inclinations of local magistrates. Men of extreme views welcomed the opportunities thus presented to them for the persecution of other beliefs than their own. Such a one, we have reason to think, was Anthony Nicholl of Penvose ; he was a most bigoted Presbyterian, but this fact never seems to have interfered with the cordiality of his friendship for Sir Francis and Lady Drake.

In 1657, when Anthony Nicholl was High Sheriff for the county of Cornwall, Dorothea appears to have been anxious to do her cousin especial honour. Although Sir Francis owned the Priory and considerable property around Launceston, which is only about twenty miles from Buckland, it is not likely that he attended the Cornish sessions, that county being beyond the sphere of his magisterial duty; but, as assize time drew near, when the neighbouring gentry were wont to pay their respects to the High Sheriff and his wife, Dorothea made up her mind that she would go to Launceston, too, and in suitable style. She intended, no doubt, to be present with Mrs. Nicholl at the opening of the assize and behold the arrival of the judges, escorted by the Sheriff, his friends, attendants, and javelin men in goodly procession.

This project of Dorothea's seems to have been the occasion of a difference, or pretended difference, of opinion between Sir Francis and herself—she desiring to be kindly and gracious, without thinking of expense; he, for once in a way, advocating the necessity for economy. Or was it only make-believe, just to persuade his relations that he had resisted temptations to extravagance with such stoutness as almost to have risked unkindness to his beloved Dorothea? This is how he tells Charles Pym of his capitulation, making his brother-in-law at the same time an accomplice in the imprudent expenditure in question.

for Charles Pym Esq. The next  
house to the north doore of the  
Abbey Church in Westminster.

3d.  
London. speede.

MY HONOURED BROTHER,

There hath I will not say a love jealousy bin, but a love quarrell or something like it betweene yr sister and myself but yt is past over, and the conclusion and final agreement is that she must have a coach of her brother Charles his providing (for the oald is broaken to pieces). I desire it



may be according to her directions and ready within this three weekes yt shee may wayte on the Lady Sherife at Launceston 'Sises. Only two coach horse harness of the best fashion, and strong. I intend to return you money by the next opportunity which I hope will be next weeke. I hope that my deare brother Alexander, yourself and my two cousens will come down in it. I will be at the charge of the four horses from London to Exeter, and there my two coach Barbary horses of a hundred pound price will in least a day gallope home to Buckland where all you shall find a reall welcome from your servant

FFRAN: DRAKE.

My honoured friend, Collonel Robin Rous, who is here, presents his service to you.<sup>1</sup>

We should mention here that Barbary horses were much prized in the seventeenth century. A 'gallant black' charger of this race, belonging to Prince Rupert, is said to have cost him no less than £300. Even Sir Francis's pair of coach horses were worth £450 according to the modern value of money. So that Dorothea may well have felt satisfied with the superiority of her equipage when she and her nieces drove off to compliment 'my lady Sheriff.' We take it for granted that 'my two cousins' meant Phillippa and Anne Symonds, who often visited their uncle. Although they were his wife's nieces, Sir Francis always called them and their sister, Lucy, his cousins, that term having a less exact interpretation then than it bears now.

<sup>1</sup> *Brymore MSS.* The original is undated, but we have no hesitation in fixing the time when this letter was written as having been in May 1657. From the close of the Civil War until after the death of Dorothea, no High Sheriff of Cornwall, excepting Anthony Nicholl, was connected by any special ties of friendship with either the Drake or Pym families. The black seal affixed to the above letter is explained by the fact that Sir Francis was then in mourning for Lady Bamfield, lately deceased. She was wife of his first cousin and also a lifelong friend of Sir Francis's, her childhood having been spent at Warleigh, of which place she became the heiress after the death of her only brother. Her sister, Elizabeth Copplestone, married another of Sir Francis's cousins, John Elford of Longstone, whose adventure has been related.

But to return to Anthony Nicholl. The year of his shrievalty was his last ; he died in London in February 1658, and was buried in the Savoy. The sumptuous monument erected by his son to his memory is not there, however, but in his own parish church of St. Tudy, in Cornwall.

A more afflicting loss experienced by Sir Francis, at about the same time, was that of his uncle, Sir George Chudleigh. They had been in arms together and entirely agreed during the first half of the Civil War. Even when Sir George 'sat down' and refused to fight any more either for King or Parliament, the purity of his motives was so unquestionable that he retained the affection and esteem of friends who differed from him in judgment. His change of opinions—more detrimental to himself than to anyone else—brought upon him a double measure of misfortunes, for, notwithstanding all that he had done for the Parliamentary cause during the early part of the war, when the Commonwealth was declared, he was regarded as a Royalist and fined and decimated accordingly. His estate seems never to have thoroughly recovered from the mischief it received in 1647. After the Restoration, Ashton Place was only partially restored, and consequently scarcely anything remains of it now. Necessary economy, certainly not a disregard for religious observances, impelled Sir George to direct in his will that there should be neither sermon nor ceremonies at his funeral ; that there should be no black other than what his son should think fit, and that gloves and ribbons should only be sent to his dearest friends. He drew up a list of these and of the remembrances he wished to be given to each one, but this writing has not been preserved with the will, which we regret, for surely Sir Francis's name would have been found upon it !

George Chudleigh, who succeeded his father in the family honours, appears, like his brother Christopher, to have remained faithful to the Parliament throughout the war. He

had been apprenticed to a wool merchant, but, when his eldest brother was killed at the siege of Dartmouth, the arrangement was cancelled as unsuitable for the heir to a title. Sir George was seventy-six years of age when he died ; he was interred in the north aisle of Ashton Church, where a curious wooden monument emblazoned with many coats-of-arms commemorates him and his wife, as follows :

Beneath this structure lies buried the body of Sir George Chudleigh Baronett ; who died the 15th day of January, 1657,<sup>1</sup> and was buried the 21st day of the same month ; and also the body of the Lady Mary Chudleigh his wife, the eldest daughter of Sir William Strode of Newingham in the County of Devon Knight, from whom descended nine sons and nine daughters.

In striking contrast with the modest obsequies of the worthy Devonshire baronet was the ostentatious funeral of his kinsman, Francis Rouse, who, as Provost of Eton, was buried just a year later—in February 1659—with much state in Eton College Chapel. Francis Rouse may be said to have been fortunate in the time of his departure, for under the Commonwealth he had been a personage, but had he survived to the Restoration, his rooted aversion to prelacy must have compelled him to efface himself.

And now the Commonwealth was almost at an end. Cromwell dissolved his second Parliament just in time to save the country from bloodshed. He had triumphed over his enemies at home and abroad, and was about to call a third Parliament, which was likely to be more favourable to him than any previous one, when illness overtook him, and on September 3, 1658, he died.

The last prayer of the great Protector was for the people over whom he ruled ; for himself, only in so far as he might be still serviceable to them.

<sup>1</sup> Old style, really January 1658.



Lord, I am a poor foolish creature, this people would fain have me live ; they think it will be best for them and that it will redound much to thy glory. All the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon thy foolish people ; forgive them their sins and do not forsake them ; but love and bless them and give them rest and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom with thyself and the Holy Spirit be all honour and glory.

## CHAPTER VII

THE story of the cabals and intrigues which preceded the Restoration need not be set down here. Richard Cromwell succeeded to the Protectorate 'as peaceably as any Prince of Wales might have inherited his father's crown,' yet in a very short time his weakness and incapacity disheartened his adherents and brought his government into contempt. In April 1659, when he retired into private life, a council of officers took the direction of public affairs; they replaced Lambert and other red-hot Republicans dismissed by Oliver Cromwell, and recalled the remnant of the Long Parliament, known by the name of the 'Rump.' The latter, always jealous of the army, was unwilling to grant the large demands of the officers, and the members, alarmed for the supremacy of their authority, appealed to General Monk, who was a known respecter of the constitutional principle that the army is the servant of the Parliament and bound to obey its behests. Monk advised the members to maintain their position, adding that, if necessary, he would march from Scotland to their assistance. Comforted and encouraged by this message, they prepared to defy the military council, but Lambert was too quick for them. On October 12 the 'Rump' found the doors of the House locked and themselves once more dismissed.

Monk was as good as his word; having purged his army of its most Republican officers, he began to march southward, resolved 'to lay the politicians at Westminster on their backs,'

unless they would grant the nation a free Parliament. In the meantime, Fleetwood's troops mutinied, there was no settled administration, taxes could not be collected, the judges had no authority to go on circuit, and everything was falling into confusion. On the last day of the year, the Council of Officers reinstated the ' Rump ' and resigned the executive power into the hands of a Council of State, composed entirely of extreme Republicans averse to government by a single person. The moderate Presbyterians, who would have been content with a continuance of the Protectorate, seeing that there was no further likelihood thereof, now began to favour a return to monarchy, provided that it could be brought about peaceably by the will of the people ; of this there seemed to be a fair prospect, for at wellnigh every town Monk passed through he was met by deputations urging him to procure a free Parliament.

The magistrates of Devonshire, never diffident in tendering their advice to persons in high places, bethought themselves that this would be a proper moment for a ' Declaration.' Being assembled at Exeter for the January Quarter Sessions, and finding the city in a tumult, owing to the apprentices having possessed themselves of the gates—shouting for monarchy and a free Parliament—they took the opportunity of addressing a letter to the Speaker, and sent it up to the House by the hands of their Recorder, Mr. Francis Bamfield. At the same time they forwarded a copy of the ' Declaration ' to General Monk, in whom, as a countryman of their own, they felt especial confidence. It ran as follows :

Exeter. January 11. We, the Gentry of Devon, finding ourselves without a regular government after your late interruption, designed a publique meeting to consult Remedies, which we could not conveniently effect till this week at our General Quarter Sessions at Exon, where we found divers of the inhabitants groaning under high oppressions and a



general defect of Trade, to the utter ruine of many and fear of the like to others (which is visible to the whole County) that occasioned such disorders that were no small trouble and disturbance to us, which (by God's blessing) upon our endeavours were soon suppressed without blood. And though we find since our last purposes, an alteration in the state of affairs by the Reassembling at the Helm of Government, yet conceive that we are but in part redressed of our Grievances, and that the chief expedient for it will be the recalling of those members who were secluded in 1648 and sat before the first force upon the Parliament, and also by filling up the vacant places, and all to be admitted without any oath or engagement previous to their entrance. For which things, if you please to take speedy course, we shall defend you against all Opposers and future Interrupters with our Lives and Fortunes. For the accomplishment whereof we shall use all lawful means which we humbly conceive may best conduce to the peace and safety of the Nation.

This Declaration of the county of Devon was subscribed by above forty of the chief Gentlemen of the County, whereof five were of the number of the secluded members, viz. Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Northcote, Kt, William Morris, Ellis Crymes, and Edmond Vowell Esqrs.<sup>1</sup>

This was the first county petition of the kind presented to General Monk, but, upon its becoming known, similar ones in large numbers poured in upon him. As yet he rather waited upon events. After considering the matter until January 23, Monk sent a letter to Mr. Robert Rolle and his 'friends and relations' in Devonshire, advising them 'to desist from their paper,' on the ground that the reinstatement of the secluded members implied a return to monarchical government and episcopacy, which in his opinion would beget a new war, being incompatible with the interests of the Presbyterians, Independents and other sectaries, and the purchasers of Crown and bishops' lands and forfeited estates. Moreover, he said, 'the army would never endure it.'

<sup>1</sup> *Public Intelligencer*, Jan. 17, 1659-60.

To these arguments the gentlemen of Devon promptly replied. They thanked the General for his expressed desire to compose differences at home and prevent new mischiefs from abroad, 'for which purposes they would live and die at his feet,' but they disputed his premises and boldly declared themselves in favour of a return to monarchical government.

When Monk arrived in London on February 3, he found that the Council of State—composed entirely of extreme Republicans nominated by the 'Rump'—was determined to leave no device untried to retain possession of the executive power. Parliament would not listen to proposals for a dissolution, and was resolute in declining to readmit the members secluded in 1648.

On the other hand, the citizens of London who had already communicated with the General, complaining that they had no representative in the present Assembly, now began to lose all patience, and on February 9 the Common Council voted that no more taxes should be levied in the City until the nation was represented in a full and free Parliament.

This 'insolence of the City of London' afforded a pretext to the 'Rump' for devising a measure which they hoped would diminish Monk's growing power and popularity. They ordered him to set his soldiers to break down the City gates and portcullises.

The General obeyed, but on the following day he put himself right with the Lord Mayor and citizens by openly espousing their cause. From this moment the days of the Long Parliament were numbered. Monk sent for the secluded members, most of whom were in town, and, after several interviews, came to an arrangement with them. He asked them to promise that, if they were resealed, they would vote all supplies necessary for the pay of his troops, that they would not attempt to alter the existing form of government, but that they would issue writs for a new Parliament to meet on

April 20 following and would then immediately dissolve themselves. Upon their signing an undertaking to this effect, Monk desired them to meet him the next morning, February 24, at Whitehall, when, having shortly reminded them of their promises and of their duties to the nation, he sent them down to Westminster, escorted by a strong guard to see them take their places.

When the sitting members 'saw the men who they had expelled so long before enter the House and take their seats, they were infinitely surprised and disordered. The most violent Republicans left the House, refusing to sit with the newcomers, but the more moderate party among them congratulated the Return of the secluded members and both presently apply'd themselves to their Business.' In a very little time, however, the usual thing happened. Once within 'the walls of Empire,' the glamour of the place took hold of them, and, to the lately restored as well as to the more accustomed members, dissolution seemed to be the one thing most to be dreaded and postponed. They also so far forgot their promises to General Monk as to abrogate the engagement, which every member had taken, to be faithful to the Commonwealth as then established without King or House of Lords, and were proceeding to pass a Militia Bill and consider Church matters, which might have been dragged on indefinitely, when on March 6 Monk sent them a peremptory letter. Without waiting to open it, the House voted supplies for the pay of the soldiers and rewards to General Monk, finished the business necessary for the election of a new Parliament to meet on April 26, and provided for the safety of the nation in the meantime. Then they passed an Act for their own dissolution, and thus, at last, after its many vicissitudes, the renowned Long Parliament ceased to exist.

The country was relieved and thankful, for peaceable people had grown weary of being tossed from one set of



governors to another and were longing for the only settlement which seemed likely to be permanent.

All hopes and fears were now centred upon the coming elections. Some Republicans and a few Cavaliers were returned, but the majority of the members chosen were of the moderate Presbyterian party, favourable to royalty, although not as yet openly declared for it. Devonshire sent back several of its former representatives, and with them General Monk, who, as was most fitting, was elected knight of the Shire. At Tavistock there was a double election. The townsmen returned Sir John Maynard and Sir Francis Drake; the mayor and commonalty, Sir John Maynard and Mr. Howard. Upon petition, the House decided that the mayor was rightly the returning officer, and Sir Francis was unseated. His opponent, Mr. Howard, was a younger son of Lady Howard of Fitzford, whose husband, Sir Richard Grenville, fortunately for her, died at Ghent at about this time.

The Convention, so called because it was not summoned by the King's writ, met at Westminster on April 25, 1660. The likelihood of a restoration had been everywhere publicly discussed, but in Parliament the subject was not broached until May 1, when General Monk delivered to the Speaker a letter from Charles II, together with his Declaration published at Breda. Both documents were immediately read to the House, and no sooner were their contents known than the members unanimously voted 'that the government of this Kingdom is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons.' They followed up the vote by appointing a committee to prepare a dutiful letter to the King, inviting him to come to England and take possession of his throne.

A few members, not so much carried away as their fellows by loyal enthusiasm, wished to insist upon 'conditions,' but General Monk silenced all objections. Conspirators, he said, were busy, and he could not be responsible for the safety of the

country if the King were not recalled at once. So Charles II came back upon his own terms, and in one day all the fruits of victory earned at the heaviest of prices—civil war—were recklessly flung away.

The Declaration of Breda bound the King in four ways only : 1st, he promised an Act of Indemnity and free pardon to all his subjects who should apply for it within forty days and return to their loyalty and obedience. The judges who sat on the trial of the late King were excluded from this offer, but no others were to suffer in purse or person for what had been done amiss during the rebellion.

2nd. Liberty was promised to tender consciences; no one was to be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

3rd. All arrears due to General Monk's army were to be paid.

4th. The King promised that all claims arising out of grants of, or the sale and purchase of Crown property, bishops' lands and forfeited estates, should be adjusted as Parliament might direct.

The first of these propositions alone concerned Sir Francis. Covetousness could not be imputed to him. He had not enriched himself out of forfeited estates or by the acquisition of bishops' lands, but he had re-entered into possession of his own property, notwithstanding that Charles I had granted it to Sir Richard Grenville. Furthermore, he had raised troops for the Parliament and had commanded a regiment in opposition to the King's forces. He was, therefore, well advised to take hold of the King's offer. The 'Pardon' granted to Sir Francis, dated August 12, 1661, is a comprehensive document; it enumerates wellnigh every transgression that a man might commit in a time of social anarchy. Murder, lying in wait from sudden malice, forcible entry, robbery,

arson, piracy, perjury, forgery, &c., &c., all those crimes are forgiven him if he has committed them, but if he has forged public faith bills, or has been guilty of bigamy or witchcraft, or been aiding or abetting thereto, he might expect no mercy, for these offences are expressly excluded from the 'Pardon.'

Writers who describe the social life of those days invariably enlarge upon the sudden change of manners that came in with the Restoration. Men and women whose religion was but a cloak of unrighteousness cast it aside. Those who had lived sedate, laborious lives, plunged into frivolity and dissipation. The reaction from Republican sternness and Puritan simplicity was excessive. Gaiety and fine clothes were now the fashion again. Bell-ringing, bonfires, feasting and rejoicing welcomed the return of Charles II. Even quiet Sir Francis swam with the stream and marked the joyfulness of the occasion by the purchase of a dinner service of plate for hospitalities he could not very well afford to indulge in.

The good people of Plymouth, who had been content to lay out £2 10s. for 'wyne and Bisketts on proclaiminge of my lord Protector,' reverted to earlier customs of largesse. On July 15, as an expression of their unfeigned joy at his Majesty's happy restoration, the borough presented him, by the hands of the Governor, Sir William Morris, and Mr. Sergeant Maynard, Recorder of the town, with 'two Royal pieces of plate,' bought of Alderman Vyner of London for £400. One of these offerings, described in a newspaper of the day as 'an honourable present of plate, for the largeness of the piece and curiosity of the work was a noble piece, and was received very graciously by his Majesty.' It was a silver fountain 'carved with rare and curious figures out of which perfumed waters were cast up twenty feet high, and had at the top a curious perfume box whence at the same time issued forth perfumed fire. His Majesty with several persons of honor was pleased to entertain himself with the sight of it.'



Munificence is no less the business of princes than it is occasionally that of corporations, and Charles very soon discovered that his gratitude for the past services of his supporters was, in the most lively way, expected to take the accustomed form of 'favours to come.' Every gentleman who had lent money to Charles I or to himself, or whose estates had been forfeited or sequestered, or who had in any way suffered for his devotion to the royal cause, now, not unnaturally, looked to receive compensation and the recognition of his loyalty. But if Charles II had been the most unselfish of princes, and had assigned his whole privy purse for these purposes, he could not have satisfied a hundredth part of the demands made upon him.

The Cavaliers fondly imagined that, at the least, their actual losses would be made good to them and that the present possessors of their estates would be summarily ejected. Bitter, therefore, was their disappointment when they found that Parliament would pass no such measure. Crown and bishops' lands were restored to their former uses, but private individuals were left to get possession of theirs as they could by the ordinary processes of law, and when they tried to do so they almost invariably found themselves stopped by the Act of Indemnity.

The condition of many of these Royalists was truly pitiable. Their petitions for relief and maintenance, or for grants of miscellaneous offices, flowed in by hundreds. No doubt, as is usual, those who had influential friends at Court got the most assistance.

The Wyndham family were continually petitioning, and sometimes they picked up crumbs of comfort. Colonel Edmund Wyndham complained that he had lost over £50,000 by the war. His post of Chief Clerk of the Errors had been taken from him, his woods had been cut down, his houses plundered of three thousand pounds' worth of plate

and household stuff. He had mortgaged his estate to send money to the King, and at Charles's request (when Prince of Wales) he had borrowed on his own security very large sums which were expended on the fortification of Bridgwater. His estates, he said, had been sequestered, and for twelve years, whilst he was on the Continent, he had had to subsist by borrowing.

But here was his salvation, for as he had shared his master's wanderings, he was not out of sight nor out of mind at the Restoration. Upon his return to England he was knighted and made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and his third son, Thomas Wyndham, was appointed equerry to the King, with a salary of £200 for life. These honours did not greatly relieve Sir Edmund's indebtedness, but they placed him at a point of vantage for obtaining more substantial favours for which he was untiring in applying. For several years only inconsiderable profits fell to his share. On one unusually fortunate occasion some derelict logwood belonging to the Crown was granted to him, by which he netted £700. At another time he was permitted to have the fine of £1,800 ordered to be levied upon an extortionate cheese-monger. Christabella, his wife, had a few little fines granted to her, and even Carolina, their daughter, asked for and obtained the small estate of an outlaw who had murdered his child.

It is rather painful to find gentlemen of position condescending to make money as informers, but no one seems to have regarded it as discreditable then. Sir Edmund Wyndham's name is associated in the Petition Book with that of Prince Rupert, and with those of other well-known Cavaliers, all engaged in petitioning for grants of the fines to be inflicted upon various species of misdemeanants, if they can 'discover' them. The one member of the Wyndham family whose requests lay unheeded was Sir Hugh. In 1661

he 'begs for the office of laying chains in the Thames for mooring of ships on rent of £40. His services, wounds, imprisonments, are too well known to need repeating.' In 1665 he petitions again, on the same grounds, for 'a small estate he hopes to discover belonging to one How of Luxborough, Co. Somerset, forfeited by his being convicted of highway robbery.' But apparently he asks in vain, perhaps owing to the counter influence of Hyde, now Lord Clarendon, perhaps because of his own want of *savoir faire*. Poor Sir Hugh seems to have taken these small rebuffs seriously to heart, and to have asked no more for Court favours.

As Clarendon's star declined, that of the Wyndhams rose. In 1667 Sir Edmund was appointed Knight Marshal of the Household, an office of honour and emolument which he enjoyed for the remainder of his days. His sister-in-law, Lady Anne Wyndham, was also rewarded. She took courage to remind the King that she had saved his life and risked her own, by hiding him in her house at Trent for several weeks after the battle of Worcester, and Charles, who for seven years had found it convenient to forget her kindness, now made amends by awarding her a pension of £400 per annum.

Our glance at the doings of Sir Hugh and his relations has carried us on too far and too fast. We must come back to December 1660, when Charles, having obtained all he was likely to get from the Convention, dissolved it and issued writs for a new Parliament to meet at Westminster on May 8, 1661.

Intending members had five months wherein to woo their constituencies; not too long, seeing that the candidates were, for the most part, young men of Cavalier families who had not sat before. Sir Francis made his own election sure by allowing himself to be nominated for two boroughs—Newport in Cornwall, where he was certain of being returned by his Vianders, and Beeralston, where the influence of his kinsmen, the Maynards, was paramount.



We know nothing about the home life of Sir Francis and Lady Drake during those winter months, which is a pity, as they were the last truly happy ones those married lovers spent together. There are indications, however, that in the early spring Sir Francis had a sharp illness, curable, yet sufficient to remind him that, although he was barely past middle age, he would be wise not to reckon upon a long life, but should hasten to set his affairs in order. He must, however, have been restored to fairly good health before April 4, because on that day he was returned member for Newport, and the custom of the borough required that he should be present on the occasion.

The method of election was simple enough, but the ceremony was picturesque. Near to the ruins of the old Priory, a little above the spot where the waters of the Kensey and the Tamar meet and rush on together, stood an ancient stone cross encircled by high wide steps. Upon this elevation the candidate took up his position, attended by the two Vianders, who then and there proclaimed to all whom it might concern that he was duly returned to serve as member for their borough.

A few days later, Sir Francis was likewise elected at Beeralston (his constituency during the Long Parliament), but he chose to sit for Newport.

On April 10, being again at Buckland, Sir Francis carried into effect the intention, formed, it seems, during his sickness, that he would make his will. He had it attested by his niece, Phillippa Symonds, then on a visit at the Abbey, by the Reverend Joseph Rowe, vicar of the parish, and by some men of business.

The document begins with a short religious exordium such as custom and the fashion of the day required, but in spite of this, and of its involved sentences, there is something quite genuine in the preface to this will, as that of one who,

through stress of life in disturbed times, had done some things which he deeply regretted—perhaps his having taken the life of fellow men in battle—but who in regard to such actions felt that he might well hope for God's forgiveness because personal enmity or malice had had no part in them. The one fault which does really appear to have weighed most uncomfortably upon his conscience was the mismanagement of his personal estate. But so true it is that as a man lives so will he die, no sooner does Sir Francis make this acknowledgment than he forthwith proceeds to embarrass and impoverish his successor by devising legacies with improvident liberality. The will is characteristic; we give the first part verbatim.

In the Name of God. Amen. I Francis Drake of Buckland in the County of Devon Baronet, considering the frailty of humane nature, mine own weakness, and the many mis-happs accidents and casualties whereunto it is by the Almighty evidence of God made subject, being prayed be God willing and most desirous by his favourable goodness to set my affaires in this world in such order as shall make my departure the more quiet when the Lord shall soe summons, and for to dispose now of such vaine worldly things as of his unspeakable mercy and infinite goodness he hath beyond my deserts vouchsafed unto me, as may be for his glory and the discharge of my trust and duty in that behalfe. And being but a Steward of the will of my Creator, subject every moment to give an account to him when he shall call me to him, what I have done with the Tallents that were lent me; which worldly troubles with the Civil or rather barbarous and uncivill Warres, for my great sinnes, have lessenned the increase and amount diminished; and I confess in all humilitie I have not improved that temporal estate left me after the late said Troubles, nor my spiritual as it ought to God's glory, for which I beg his pardon. I doe make, ordaine, and publish this my last will and testament in writing the tenth day of April, in manner and form following.

First I committ and commend my Soule into the hands of Christ Jesus my alone Saviour and Redeemer, being by his

Grace persuaded that all my Sinnes, Errors and Transgressions being of a deepe scarlet dye are and will be wash'd cleane away with that Immaculate Lamb of God his most precious Blood. And that by his infinite mercy and power I shall be raised up againe out of the Earth or Sea at the Resurrection of the Just and with Him to be made an Inheritor of the Kingdom of God : which he grant for his infinite mercy's sake. Amen.

Item. I bequeath my body to Christian burial, if I die at Buckland or neare it I desire it may be buried in mine own Ile that now is, or in the higher corner of the South Ile behind the pulpitt next the Churchyard in North Buckland Church.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my dear beloved wife Dorothea my two little jewels, the one being of dymonds, the other of rubies. The Dymond Jewell had a crowne lately on the top of it, a little pendant of dymons on the bottom ; and the Rubies a picture on the backside. The bedd and ffurniture of her now chamber, all the coves and sheepe of mine that shall be at Buckland at my death, the two mares that usually draw the Coach, with the Coach and any two of my other horses she shall make choice of, with a markett horse or gelding besides. My two silver ffagons and the little silver Bason with a broad brimm that belongs to her Chamber, the silver tankards with the Strood and Drake Arms on them, the Sugar box, the two little silver dishes with the eares, with a dozen of plain silver spoones and the dozen of silver plates I bought lately in London with mine and my wife's Armes joined. And alsoe all my Gold Coyne that is found in my house of Buckland at my day of Death that belongs to me, and halfe of my Chamber and butterey Linnen for ever, and the use of all other household furniture stufte and out stufte of husbandry I give to her during her widowhood and no longer, and alsoe the use of my Italian and ffrench Bookes during her widowhood.

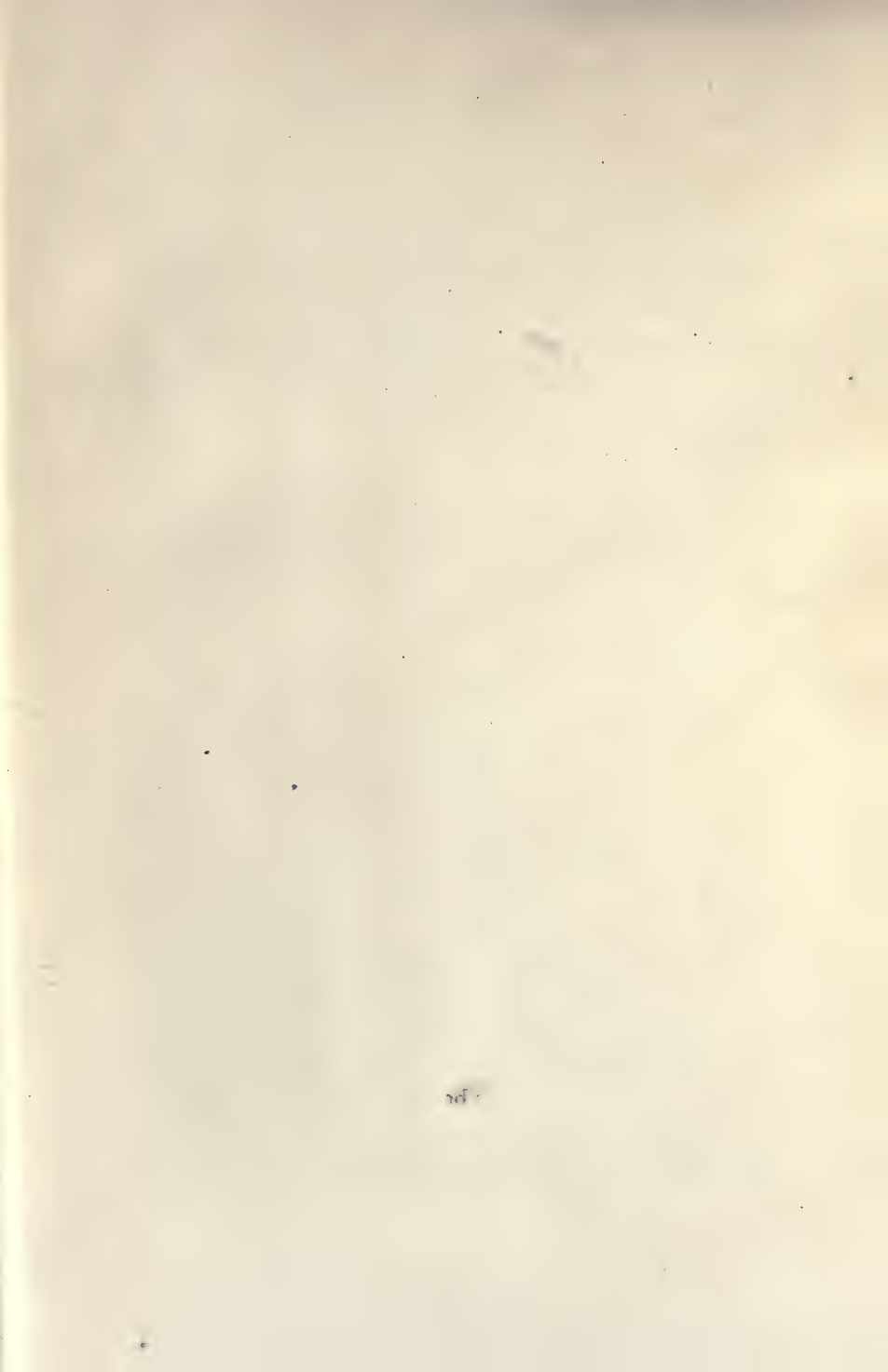
After this come numerous bequests to relations and friends :

To his brother, John Drake, and his wife Prudentia, sixty pounds in money to be bestowed by his sister Prudentia in plate.

To his brother William, twenty-five pounds in plate.

To his godson, Elize Crymes, five pounds.







JEWEL

Presented by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Drake

To his brother Joseph, eight pounds.

To his dearly beloved sister Sarah and her husband, Mr. Thomas Trevillian, a piece of plate of twenty-five pounds.

To his sister, the Lady Joane Wyndham, and unto Sir Hugh Wyndham, her husband, a piece of plate of twenty-five pounds.

To the widow of his brother, Thomas Drake, twenty pounds in money, and to her two daughters, Mary and Joane, three hundred pounds each, to be paid them at their day of marriage or of eighteen years.

To Mr. Rowe, pastor of North Buckland, eleven pounds in plate.

To his dearly beloved kinsman, Mr. Robert Savery, ten pounds for a cup or a ring.

To Sir George Chudleigh, Baronet, a piece of plate worth twelve pounds.

To his noble friend and kinsman, Sir John Maynard, a piece of plate worth eleven pounds.

To his kind friend and kinsman, Edmund Fowell, a piece of plate worth five pounds.

Rings of more or less value are to be given to his god-daughters, Anne and Phillippa, and their sister, Lucie Luttrell. His two brothers, Alexander and Charles Pym, also receive bequests of rings.

Three of Sir Francis's servants are to have eight pounds each, those of the household in his service at the time of his death thirty-five shillings each.

To his 'lawful heir,' all his books, plate, and household stuff, excepting what had been already bequeathed to his wife, and 'alsoe the great Jewel<sup>1</sup> that was given with the great gilt covered cupp by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Drake a predecessor.'

<sup>1</sup> The miniature of Queen Elizabeth in the Drake Jewel is by Hilliard, the Jewel itself is said to be the work of Vicentio Vicentini.



His landed estates Sir Francis leaves to Sir William Strode, Kt., and William Davey (second son of Sir John Davey of Creedy) in trust to pay to his widow the jointures settled upon her, and then 'in case God should not bless him with an heir of his own body' for the use of his nephew, Francis Drake, son of his brother, Thomas Drake, deceased, and his issue male with remainder to his brothers John, William and Joseph and their issue in tail male. He appoints Sir William Strode, William Davey, and John Drake to be guardians of his said nephew, desiring that they will 'take care that he shall have good nurture and be brought up in learning under an orthodox schoolmaster, and so pious a Tutor or Governor that abominates all heresies and errors, until he attain the age of twenty-three years.' At that age, with the consent of his guardians, he may make a settlement on any woman he may marry of two hundred pounds a year for her widowhood, to be charged on the Buckland estate, which may likewise be burdened with portions for younger children up to five thousand pounds, but not more.

Sir Francis bequeaths 'one hundred and twenty pounds wherewith to build an Alms House in North Buckland near the Church, for six pious people born and bred in the parish, and none such to be put into the said house without the choice or approbation of his heir or successor.' He appoints his 'honoured kinsman,' Sir William Strode, 'his deare brother, John Drake,' and his 'honest kinsman,' William Davie, to be his executors, desiring that they will raise, by lease of his lands, sufficient money to pay off all his debts and legacies, and he gives to each of them thirty pounds and their expenses in the trusteeship.

There are two curious things to be noticed in the wording of this will; one is that whereas Buckland has invariably been known both before and since that time as Buckland

Monachorum, Sir Francis always styles it North Buckland, as though he and his contemporaries wished to forget that the monks had ever been there. The other is the guarded way in which he alludes to 'the Dymond Jewel which lately had a Crowne on top of it.' Evidently this was the gift of Royalty. The recent removal of the 'Crowne' points to the possibility that it had been presented by Charles I to Sir Francis's father (the first Baronet), in acknowledgment, we suppose, of services rendered in connexion with the force raised to go to Spain in the year 1625, when Charles himself came to Plymouth. We hear of this ornament once again about sixty years later, after which it disappears altogether.

The ruby or star jewel, which belonged to the first Sir Francis Drake, was originally intended to be worn in the hat, as is seen in the well-known portrait of Sir John Hawkins. The centre ruby, an intaglio with the orb, an insignia of royalty, deeply cut into it, may formerly have been a seal belonging to Queen Elizabeth. Her portrait, encircled by rays of red translucent enamel, is set into the back of the jewel.

Sir Francis's will and his choice of books, anent which we shall have something more to say, show that he was by nature a man of peace and of culture. He abhorred and deplored the Civil War, but there is no indication that he repented of the active part he had taken in it, or that he ever regarded the cause for which he had fought as other than right and just.

Having thus made his testamentary dispositions, remembering his friends and providing for the equitable distribution of his estate, Sir Francis was able with an easier mind to turn his attention to the business of the moment, the removal of himself and family to London for the Parliamentary session which was to open on May 8. It was

arranged, apparently, that Dorothea should leave home first, visit her relations in Somersetshire, and then be joined by Sir Francis on his way up to town.

Something, probably a return of his late malady, seems to have delayed his departure, when Dorothea, who was staying at Dunster Castle, was suddenly taken ill. She grew rapidly worse, and died early in the morning of May 7, before either her husband or brothers could go to her.

It is said that on her deathbed she requested that her pearl necklace might be given to Lucy Luttrell as a remembrance. A letter mentioning this and other circumstances connected with her sickness, and alluding to Sir Francis's illness at the time, is or was amongst the papers at Dunster Castle, but it cannot now be found.

Immediately upon Dorothea's decease Francis Luttrell dispatched a hurried note, dated 'Tuesday night or rather Wednesday morning at 2 of the clock,' to Charles Pym, then at Brymore, about eighteen miles distant.

Dear Uncle (he says), It hath pleased God to take my Lady Drake out of this world just now. 'Tis earnestly desired you would post it hither; the particulars are too large to express at this hour of night. Sorrows here are unspeakable; pray, Sir, kindly direct us to the best course.<sup>1</sup>

Charles and Alexander Pym, with Sir Francis's consent, arranged for the burial of their sister at Dunster, on Friday, May 16; and subsequently, Sir Francis being too ill to do so, they administered to her effects. If any headstone or monument was erected to Lady Drake's memory, it has long since disappeared; probably none was put up.

From this time Sir Francis's health seems to have gradually

<sup>1</sup> Letter in the collection of H. P. Bouverie, Esq., of Brymore.



declined. His wife's death was an irreparable affliction, which lessened his desire for life and weakened his hold on the things he had most cared for. Werrington, to which he had long clung in spite of many embarrassments, had been sold to Sir William Morris, excepting only a mill by the river and a few acres that had formed part of Dorothea's jointure. Now, as she was gone, there was no reason for withholding this small remainder from Sir William, who was anxious to acquire it ; but it was with an uncertain, wavering pen, as though he had hardly strength to write, that Sir Francis, just a month after his great loss, signed the deed which finally severed his connexion with this beautiful estate.

Somewhat later in the same year a further painful shock befel him, when, on September 9, Charles II revenged his own injuries by issuing a warrant for the desecration of the graves of political personages who, during the Commonwealth, had been interred in Westminster Abbey. Without a word of warning to friends who could have removed the beloved remains, Pym's body, which seventeen years before had been laid to rest amid the lamentations of the nation, was dug up. So also was William Strode's, and these, together with the corpses of the Protector's wife and mother, the brave Admiral Blake, and other distinguished persons, were cast into a pit in St. Margaret's Churchyard, near the back door of one of the Prebendaries' houses.

If Sir Francis had cherished any illusions as to the magnanimity of the Prince who had succeeded the great Protector, this despicable outrage must have rudely dispelled them. For those who could see, other enlightenments were not wanting. The unjustifiable executions of Sir Harry Vane and Mr. Adrian Scrope were of a nature to open the eyes of people to the worthless character of their new King ; but for the time being, the nation, steeped 'in an almost besotted loyalty,' was content that Parliament should slavishly do his

behests. A day of awakening came, but Sir Francis did not live to see it, nor perhaps did he greatly covet length of days. He was only forty-four years of age, although his portrait—taken apparently towards the end of his life—would lead one to suppose that he was much older. It is evident, however, that he never contemplated a second marriage. In the spring, when making his will, he had allowed for the possibility of his even yet having heirs of his own, but in September<sup>1</sup> he had abandoned such hopes, and says so in a document which he caused to be then drawn up, giving that, as well as his great affection for his young nephew, as reasons for making a fresh settlement of his property. In this new deed he made the same disposition of his lands as he had done in his will, excepting that he no longer gave power to raise money out of the estate for the payment of his debts and legacies and for the portioning of any younger children his successor might have. He appointed the same trustees as before, with the addition of Walter Young, son of Sir John Young of Collaton; but apparently he never told any of the persons concerned that he had executed this new document, which was signed only by himself and some unimportant witnesses—probably servants, who did not know what they were attesting. The consequence was that for many years the existence of this deed was unsuspected, and that, when it was eventually discovered, unfortunate complications arose therefrom, as will appear in the sequel.

No information has come down to us respecting Sir Francis's last sickness and death, further than that he departed this life at Buckland Abbey on January 6, and that, according to his wish, he was buried in the parish church on January 10, 1662. His attached friend, the Reverend Joseph Rowe, having taken the Oath of Allegiance and conformed again to the doctrines of the Church of England, was still vicar of

<sup>1</sup> Deed dated Sept. 4, 1661.

Buckland ; doubtless it was he who read the burial service at Sir Francis's grave, and preached one of the elaborately dreary sermons usual on such mournful occasions. Amongst those present at the funeral were, we suppose, Sir Francis's three brothers, John, who lived at Ivy Bridge, William and Joseph, who resided in or near Buckland, and the young boy baronet, successor to his uncle's estates.

END OF VOLUME I

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